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16147

THE
T R A V E L S
AND
MEMOIRS
OF
SIR JOHN RERESBY, BART.
THE FORMER (NOW FIRST PUBLISHED) EXHIBITING
A VIEW OF THE GOVERNMENTS AND SOCIETY
IN THE
Principal States of Europe,
DURING THE TIME OF CROMWELL'S USURPATION;
CONTAINING
A MULTIPLICITY OF HISTORICAL FACTS
NOT GENERALLY KNOWN,
WITH
ANECDOTES, AND SECRET HISTORY,
OF THE
COURTS OF CHARLES II. AND JAMES II.

THIRD EDITION.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR EDWARD JEFFERY AND SON, PALL MALL.

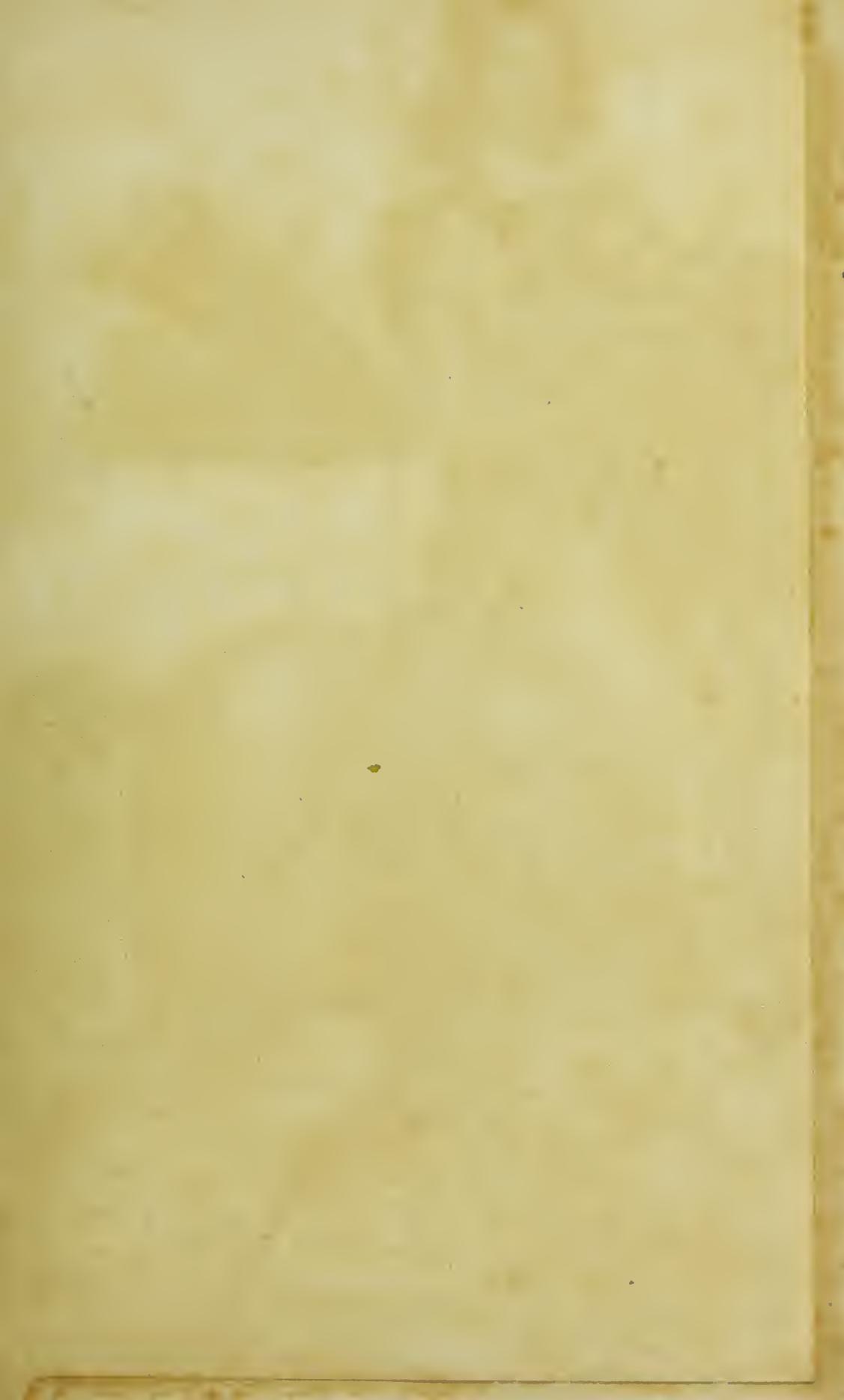
1831.



PREFACE
TO THE
FIRST EDITION OF THE MEMOIRS.

To insist on the value of works of this nature, when they come from men of real knowledge and understanding, were only to repeat what the wisest men have often said for us. The reader, we believe, will be convinced that Sir John was a person very equal to the task he undertook ; and having such opportunities of prying, as it were, into the hearts of the greatest ministers and princes of his time, it had been unpardonable in him to have refrained from communicating the many important matters he so assuredly knew. The reader will, we hope, find in him an impartiality rarely met with in writers who have been, like him, of a party ; for, being a man of the strictest honour and nicest conscience, he, it seems, thought it as unjust not to applaud an enemy for any good he had done, as weak, not to accuse a friend when, through human frailty, he happened to deserve it. This, and what goes

before, might be sufficient to bespeak the reader in his favour, even though he had related no fact but such as had been an hundred times repeated before this appearance of his book ; but as he abounds with things new, or what is the same, with matters known to very few living, and which will much assist us in forming a right idea of the times he lived in, he must claim a greater share of attention. But we will now leave Sir John to plead his own cause, and shall only add, that we flatter ourselves with the approbation of the public, for our thus retrieving him from the recesses of privacy.





SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX Knight.
General of the Forces raised by the Parliament

Engleheart

Published by Edward Johnson 1740.





Engraved by J^o Caldwall. From an Original Picture Painted by Robert Walker.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

Published as the Act directs by Machell Stace, N^o 5 Middle Scotland Yارد, May 1st 18⁰1

MEMOIRS
OF
SIR JOHN RERESBY,

From the Year 1658 to the Year 1689.

ON September 23, 1658, died the Protector, Oliver Cromwell, one of the greatest and bravest men, had his cause been good, the world ever saw. His actions I leave to the historian ; and having been very near his person but once, at an audience of an ambassador at Whitehall, I can only say that his figure did not come up to his character ; he was indeed a likely person, but not handsome, nor had he a very bold look with him. He was plain in his apparel, and rather negligent than not. Tears he had at will, and was doubtless, the deepest dissembler on earth.

The Duke of Buckingham, who had attended the king in his exile, had disengaged, and left his majesty some time before, and was now endeavouring to marry the daughter and heiress of Thomas Lord Fairfax, formerly the parliament's general, and unto whom had been granted the greatest part of the said duke's estate. This duke was the finest gentleman, both for

person and wit, I think I ever saw ; but he knew not how to be long serious, or mindful of business ; and had behaved with some insolence to the king, which was the cause of their separation. It was on the 12th of August 1659, that I first became acquainted with him, and he from the very first moment expressed a kindness for me.

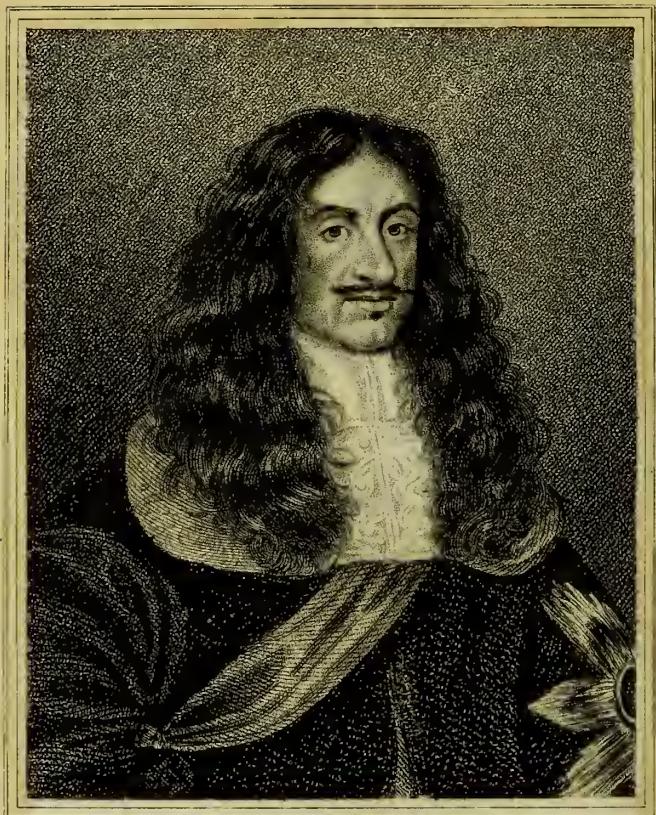
It was now easy to perceive that a way was paved to facilitate the king's return ; but still the rump kept up some face of state ; and I remember to have been present at a dinner, given by the city of London, to Lambert and other officers of the army, by far more costly and splendid, than any I ever saw given afterwards to his majesty ; so much is awe more prevalent than love.

Continuing but in a indifferent state of health, I partly for that reason, and partly for others, returned to Paris in October, where I had no sooner put myself into some equipage, but I endeavoured to be known at our queen mother's court, which she then kept at the Palace Royal. Her majesty had none of her children with her, but the princess Henrietta Maria ; and few of the English making their court there, I was the better received. As I spoke the language of the country and danced pretty well, the young princess, then about fifteen years of age, behaved towards me with all the civil freedom that might be ; she made me dance with her, play on the harpsichord to me in her highnesses chamber ; suffered me to wait on her as she walked in the garden, and sometimes to toss her in a swing between two trees, and in fine, to be present at all her innocent diversions.



Colonel John Lambert

692
C. J. G.



E. Scowen sculp

CHARLES the SECOND.

From an original Picture in the Oak Room at Cashiobury.

copied by permission.

Published by E. Jeffery N.S.W. Pall Mall. 1803.

The queen commanded me to attend as often as I conveniently could ; she had a great affection for England, notwithstanding the severity of usage she and hers had met with there. With the great men and ladies of France, she discoursed much in praise of the people and country, of their courage, their generosity, their good nature, and would excuse all the late misfortunes, as brought about by some desperate enthusiasts, rather than proceeding from the genius and temper of the nation. To give a little instance of her inclination for the English, I happened to carry an English gentleman with me one day to court, and he, to be very fine, had got him a garniture of rich ribbon to his suit, in which was a mixture of red and yellow ; which the queen observing, called to me, and bad me advise my friend to mend his fancy a little, as to his ribbons, the two colours he had joined, being ridiculous in France, and might give the French occasion to laugh at him.

I had three cousins then in an English convent at Paris, one of them an antient lady, and since abbess of the house : Hither the queen was wont often to retire for some days ; and the lady would tell me that Lord Jermyn, since St. Albans, had the queen greatly in awe of him, and indeed it was obvious that he had great interest with her concerns ; but that he was married to her, or had children by her, as some have reported, I did not then believe, though the thing was certainly so.

The court of France was very splendid this winter, 1660 ; a grand mask was danced at the Louvre, where the king and princess Henrietta of England danced to

admiration : But there was now a greater resort to the palace than the French court ; the good humour and wit of our queen mother, and the beauty of the princess her daughter being more inviting than any thing that appeared in the French queen, who was a Spaniard.

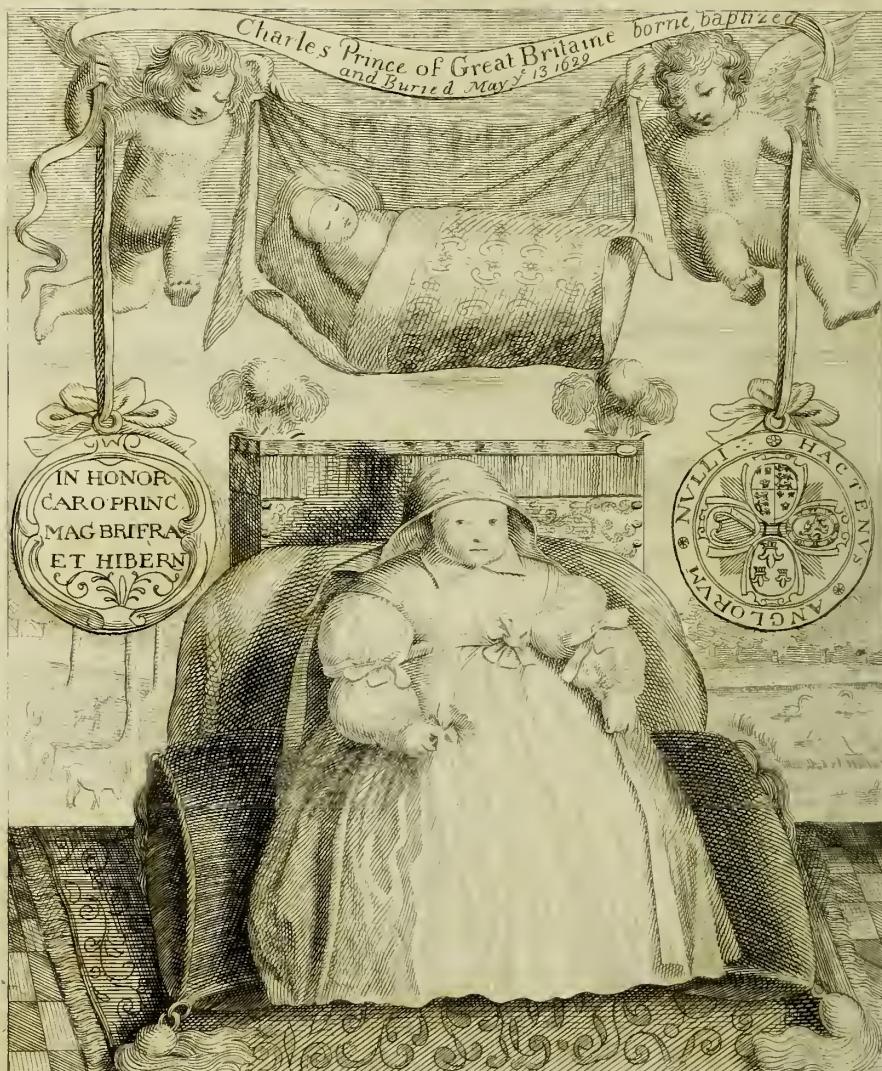
The queen mother received the news of his majesty's happy restoration, with all imaginable demonstrations of joy, and, among other things, gave a noble ball at court, to which every body of the greatest quality was invited, and to which all the English gentlemen then at Paris, had admittance. Having been ill some time before, I would have been excused from dancing, but the queen commanded me to take out the cardinal's niece, I obeyed.

I stayed at Paris till August, and received more honours from the queen and the princess her daughter, than I deserved, or could acknowledge, but by the most constant duty and attendance in my power.

On the 2d of August I set out for England ; but before my departure, I waited on the queen for her commands ; she told me she would write by me, and ordered me to attend next morning for her letter. Having received it and taken my leave, I desired to know, if it required haste ? Her majesty said, no, for that it contained but little besides a particular recommendation of me to her son the king.

At London I met my mother and most of my relations, who were come up, as from all parts of England they did, to see the king, and was presented by the Duke of Ormond, then but marquis, to his majesty





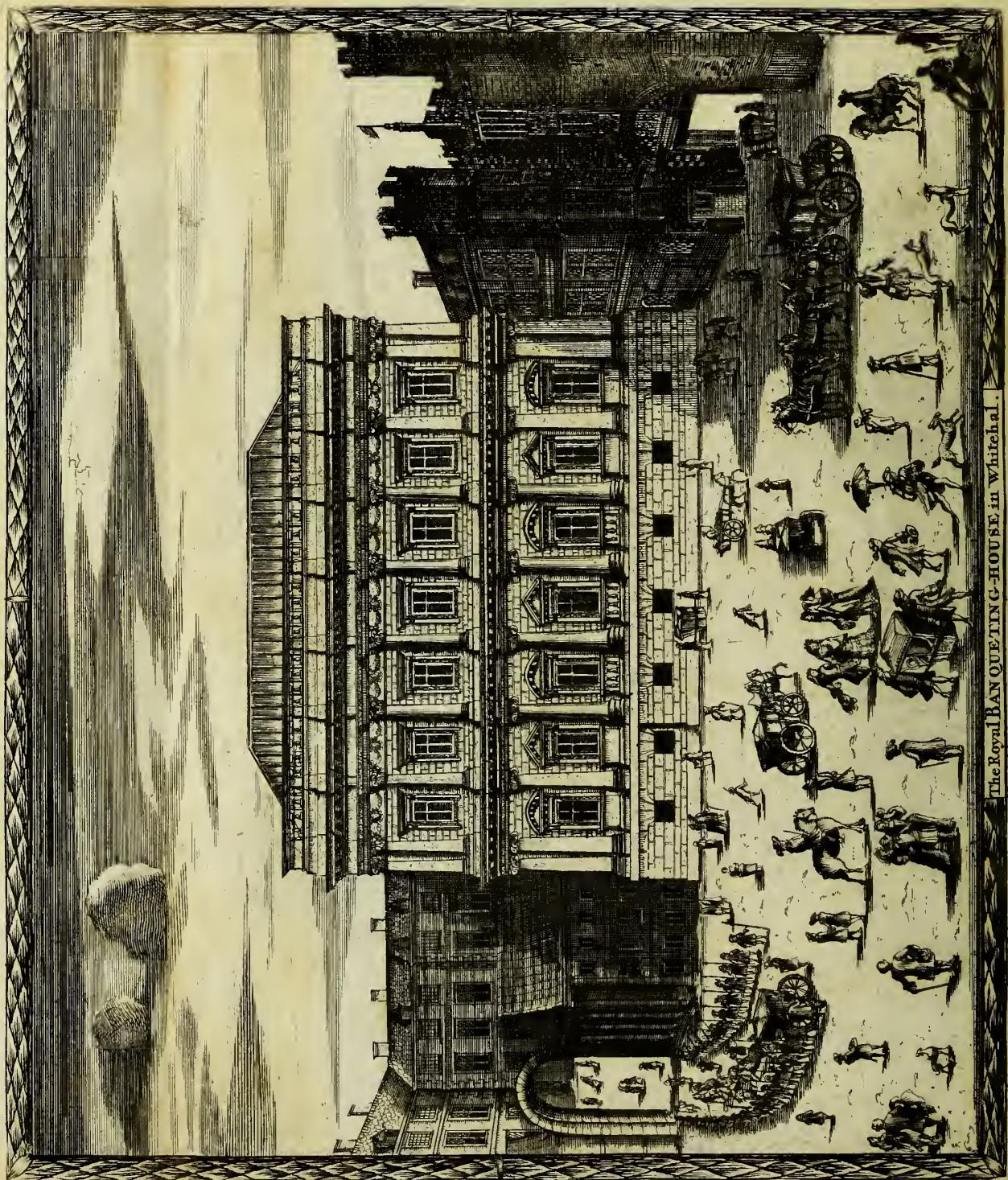
What doth Kingdome's happisie
But a blest Posteritie
THIS this Realme, Earths Goshen fare
Europes Garden, makes most rare
Whose most royll Princeley Stemme
(To adorne theire Diadem,)
Two sweet May-Flowers did produce
Sprung from Rose & Flower de-Luce

The most hopefull and
high borne Prince, Henry
Duke of Gloucester who was
borne at Orlendes the eight
of July A nno 1640



THE TRVE PORTRAICTURE OF THE HIGH BORNE
Princesse, Mary, Princesse of Orange etc. maried at
White Hall, London 23 May, 1641, borne y' 4. Nov. 1631

Publish'd Oct 1st 1802. by W^m Richardson, York House, 31, Strand.



The Royal BANQUETING-HOUSE in Whiteh. a. [

in the privy chamber at Whitehall, and delivering him the queen's letter, he asked me several questions, both concerning her and my voyage.

The court at Whitehall soon became very magnificent, the Duke of York having his court apart, and the Duke of Gloucester his. The kingdom was now very rich, and men were generally satisfied with the king's return though some malcontents of several sorts there were ; and how should it be otherwise ? But the king did not much adhere to business : All was calm and easy, he had a parliament ready to yield to any thing that was reasonable, as the acts they made sufficiently declare, and the Earl of Clarendon, then chancellor, was at the helm. The king, who was at an age and vigour for it, pursued his pleasures ; and if love prevailed with him more than any other passion, he had this for excuse, besides that his complexion was of an amorous sort, the women seemed to be the aggressors ; and I have since heard the king say that they would sometimes offer themselves to his embrace : nor were the two dukes, his brothers, more averse to the sex than his majesty.

In November, the king's aunt (the Queen of Bohemia) came over from the Hague, as did also his sister, the Princess of Orange ; but they both died soon after their arrival, as did also the Duke of Gloucester,

The queen mother often asked me if the king had done any thing for me, and what it was I had fixed my mind on, that she might speak a word for me ; but in truth I did not at that time pursue my own advantage as I might have done ; and went to court rather to converse and look about me, than to solicit any favour : I chiefly relied on the queen's kindness to me

and the influence she had over the king; but all the pleasing superstructure fell to the ground; the queen left England soon after the death of her children, taking the princess Henrietta away with her to Paris, and I was disappointed.

On the 6th of January, 1661, a small rebellion was raised in London by one Venner, which in its very rise was defeated by a party of the guards; but running out of town they rallied again in Cane-wood near Highgate. Having a mind therefore to see a little action, I mounted one of my coach-horses, and mounted my man upon the other, and joined Sir Thomas Sands, who commanded the party of the guards that went in pursuit of the incendiaries. Having searched the wood till midnight, we came to a little house, where the people told us they had been desiring some victuals but a little while before, and that they could not be far off. Accordingly, about an hour after this, we found some of them in the thickest part of the wood. They discharged their pieces at us, but the moon setting they got from us, and hurried back again to London, where they met with the fate every body knows. Their captain and about twenty more were hanged, drawn and quartered: about twenty of them were killed in their several skirmishes, and about as many of the king's men, one of which was shot not far from me in Cane-wood.

It was this summer that the Duke of York first took any particular notice of me. I happened to be in discourse with the French ambassador, and some other gentlemen of his nation, in the presence at White-hall, and the duke joined us, he being a great lover of the French tongue, and kind to those who spoke it.



MEMENTO

MORI

LO^NDO^N'S Dreadful Visitation:
Or, A COLLECTION of All the

Bills of Mortality

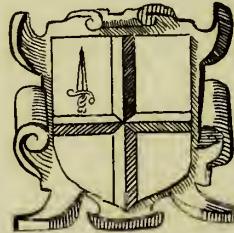
For this Present Year:

Beginning the 27th of December 1664. and
ending the 19th. of December following:

As also, The GENERAL or whole years BILL:

According to the Report made to the
KING's Most Excellent Majesty,

By the Company of Parish-Clerks of London. &c



L O N D O N:

Printed and are to be sold by E. Cotes living in Aldersgate-street.
Printer to the said Company 1665.

The next night he talked with me a long while, as he was at supper with the king.

On the 19th of May, 1662, the king went to receive the Infanta of Portugal at Portsmouth, attended by the greatest court I ever saw in any progress. But though, upon this occasion, every thing was gay and splendid, and profusely joyful, it was easy to discern that the king was not excessively charmed with his new bride, who was a very little woman, with a pretty tolerable face; she, neither in person nor manners, had any one article to stand in competition with the charms of the Countess of Castlemain, (since Duchess of Cleveland) the finest woman of her age. It is well known that the lord chancellor had the blame of this unfruitful match, and that the queen was said to have a constant fluor upon her, which rendered her incapable of conception.

In the year 1664, the war broke out between us and the Dutch; and I resolved to serve as volunteer in our fleet, hoping to be on board the duke's own ship. I accordingly equipped myself with necessaries for the sea, and went to procure the king's leave to go on board, and to receive his commands to the duke, intending to be gone the next day. The king told me he was willing I should go, but had letters to write to the duke, which he would send by me, and ordered me to stay for them day after day (expecting, it seems, first to hear from the duke) till at last his majesty told me he should not write, and that I needed not now to go, for that the duke would be speedily on shore, he not having been able to bring the Dutch to action.

A dreadful plague raged in London, during the summer of 1665, which swept away 97,309 persons. It

was usual for people to drop down in the streets as they went about their business ; and a story is reported for a certain truth, that a bag-piper being excessively overcome with liquor, fell down in the street and there lay asleep. In this condition he was taken up and thrown into a cart betimes the next morning, and carried away with some dead bodies. Meanwhile he awoke from his sleep, it being now about day-break, and rising up began to play a tune, which so surprized the fellows that drove the cart, who could see nothing distinctly, that in a fright they betook them to their heels, and would have it that they had taken up the devil in the disguise of a dead man.

But to resume other things, I married, and was thereby prevented from being an eye witness of the Dutch war ; and so I shall only say that his highness obtained a glorious victory over that republic.

His royal highness the duke and his duchess came down to York, in August, where it was observed that Mr. Sydney, the handsomest youth of his time, and of the duke's bed chamber, was greatly in love with the duchess, and indeed he might well be excused, for the duchess, daughter to Chancellor Hide, was a very handsome personage, and a woman of fine wit. The duchess on her part seemed kind to him, but very innocently ; but he had the misfortune to be banished the court afterwards for another reason, as was reported.

On the 5th of October I went to Oxford, to put the king in mind of a former promise, to make me high sheriff of the county of York, the year next ensuing ; but hearing that Sir Francis Cob (who had been at some extraordinary charge in receiving and attend-



Engraved by F. G. C. after a painting by Sir Peter Lely.

Algernon Sidney

1710

W



HIS HIGHNESS PRINCE RUPERT,

General of the Horse. Admiral of the White, &c.

From an Original Picture.

Publ'd August 20. 1799. by Edw^d. Jefferys Pall Mall.

ing the court at York) obtained a grant to continue in that office for another year, at his highness's intercession I waited on the duke, acquainted him with my claim, and begged his assistance. He told me he wished he had known my claim in time, that he should have been ready to serve me, and that I had nevertheless his leave to solicit his majesty's promise. I thanked him, but said I could not appear in any degree of opposition to his highness's interest and pleasure, and would therefore defer my pretensions to a better opportunity. This he took very kindly, went with me to the king, and presented me to him for the next year ; his majesty gave me his hand to kiss, and his word once more, that I should be sheriff as I had desired.

A great and happy victory was obtained over the Dutch on the 25th of July, 1666, by Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle ; and a sad and dismal fire laid the vast and noble city of London in ashes ; but these being events that have been of late largely described already, I shall only observe of the latter, that the dreadful destruction was not more extraordinary than the speed, regularity, and cost wherewith it was retrieved, and a new London, far exceeding the old, erected.

I went to London on the 2d of October, to put the king and the duke in mind of their promise, that I should be high sheriff for the county of York for the year next ensuing ; and no sooner did I appear before the duke than he said to me, “ I remembered you “ though you was not here, and your business is done “ for you.” And, to say the truth, there was no prince at that time observed to be more punctual to

his word, I found what the duke told me to be perfectly true, the king did graciously confirm what he had said, and named me sheriff for the county of York, though I was not of the three presented to him by the judges.

The duke of Buckingham had been some time in disgrace at court ; and being suspected of some evil practices against the king, on the 8th of March, 1667, a proclamation was issued out to apprehend him. I confess I was at a loss to know how to act in this matter, between the obligation of my office as sheriff, and the respect I had for the duke : but the judges coming down to the assizes, advised me by all means to proclaim it, which I did, and it for ever after lessened me in the esteem of that lord.

My lord Southampton, lord high treasurer of England, being lately dead, the administration of that great office was transacted by four commissioners, the Duke of Albemarle, Lord Ashley Cooper, afterwards Earl of Shaftsbury, Sir William Coventry, secretary to the Duke of York, and Sir John Duncomb. It was now that the parliament fell upon the great Earl of Clarendon, who having surrendered the seals, a few months afterwards, as much as possible to avoid the heat of his enemies, retired privately into France. His greatest enemy in the house of lords was the Duke of Buckingham ; in the house of commons, Sir Thomas Osborne, since Earl of Danby ; by this step, and by the help of his grace the Duke of Buckingham, who was now absolute favourite, it was that Sir Thomas more especially rose to his height of dignity.

The Duke of Buckingham now acted as prime minister : the king consulted him chiefly in all con-

cerns of moment ; the foreign ministers were to apply to him, before they could be admitted to an audience. But he was such a foe to business, such a friend to pleasure, and so apt to turn the day into night, and the night into day, that he could neither attend regularly on the king, nor dispatch business, as it ought to be, with those who had any thing to negociate with him ; so his ministry proved of no long duration.

In the spring of 1668, I carried my family up to town, where the court and city were all gay and jovial ; for peace was now concluded with France, with Spain, with Denmark, and the States General. Ambassadors extraordinary were now sent and received with the greatest pomp and splendor.

On the 5th of April, 1669, the Prince of Tuscany came to London, with a retinue and equipage suitable to his high quality, and was at first magnificently entertained by the king ; but after some time, he kept house at his own expence, and had plenty of all the portable rarities for food and drink, Italy had to afford. I dined with him twice ; he was very kind to me, as he was to all those who had travelled into Italy, and spoke the language. And this spring the Prince of Denmark was in London, the same who some years afterwards married the Princess Anne of England.

But all this jollity was turned into mourning for the death of the queen mother, who on the 10th of August departed this life at Paris : she was a great princess, and my very good mistress.

In the summer of 1670 the Duchess of Orleans, the king's sister, came over to Dover, where she was met by the king, the Duke of York, and the whole

court. Here it was that she confirmed his highness the duke in the popish superstition, of which he had as yet been but barely suspected ; and it is said to have been his grand argument, for such his adherence to those tenets, that his mother had, upon her last blessing, commanded him to be firm and stedfast thereto. Before this, it was thought he was rather a friend to the presbyterians ; for not long before, a nonconformist minister being prosecuted at Pomfret, for preaching in a conventicle, it was reported that his highness, and the Duke of Buckingham, then principal minister of state, had written in his favour to the justices : but the duke as I was one day attending on him in St. James's Park, called me to him, and discoursing over the thing to me, declared what was reported to be a mistake, that he had not concerned himself at all with it, though he was so much a friend to that sort of people, that he could wish the law had not been put in execution against him, or to that effect, and that absolutely he did not write. At the same time he told me to represent him, upon occasion, as no enemy to such. Hereupon I acquainted his highness, that there was a kinsman of mine, one Mr. Vincent, in town, who was a leading man in that party ; his highness ordered me to bring him to court, which I did, and the duke took him aside, and talked with him a great while. It was generally believed that the duke, in this, acted the politician suitable to the time ; for it was now rumoured about, the king would be divorced from his queen, which, by thus courting all parties, he proposed to prevent.

But however this was, our royal family lost another of its number ; for the Duke of Orleans had for some



Painted by De Baan

William 3rd King of England.

Engraved by Andrew Duncan.

London - 26 for the Proprietor December 1822



time before been jealous of his wife, and, if all that is said be true, not without good ground : the Count de Guiche, it seems, had been a favourite with her, and now she is said to have fallen in love with the Duke of Monmouth, while she was at Dover ; in short, things were so represented to the duke her husband, that she died very suddenly after her return to Paris, by poison as the report went.

The Prince of Orange came to London in October, to pay a visit to the king. The parliament being now met, pursuant to prorogation, it happened that Sir John Coventry, in a speech he made, reflected on the king's wenching ; which being reported to the Duke of Monmouth, he ordered Sir Thomas Sands (an officer of the guards) and three or four more, to way-lay him as he went late home to his lodging ; which they accordingly did, and, taking him out of his coach, slit his nose. But complaint thereof being made to the house, it caused such a heat, that thence proceeded the act against malicious maiming and wounding.

The Prince of Orange remained in England, and making his addresses to the Lady Mary, eldest daughter to the duke, the king entertained him with great splendor, as well on that account, as because of his relation to him, and great personal merit. One night at a supper, given by the Duke of Buckingham, the king made him drink very hard : the prince was naturally averse to it, but being once entered, was more frolic and gay than the rest of the company ; and now the mind took him to break the windows of the chambers belonging to the maids of honour, and he had got into their apartments, had they not been timely re-

cued. His mistress, I suppose did not like him the worse for such a notable indication of his vigour.

On the 31st of March, 1671, died Anne Duchess of York, with her last breath declaring herself a papist.

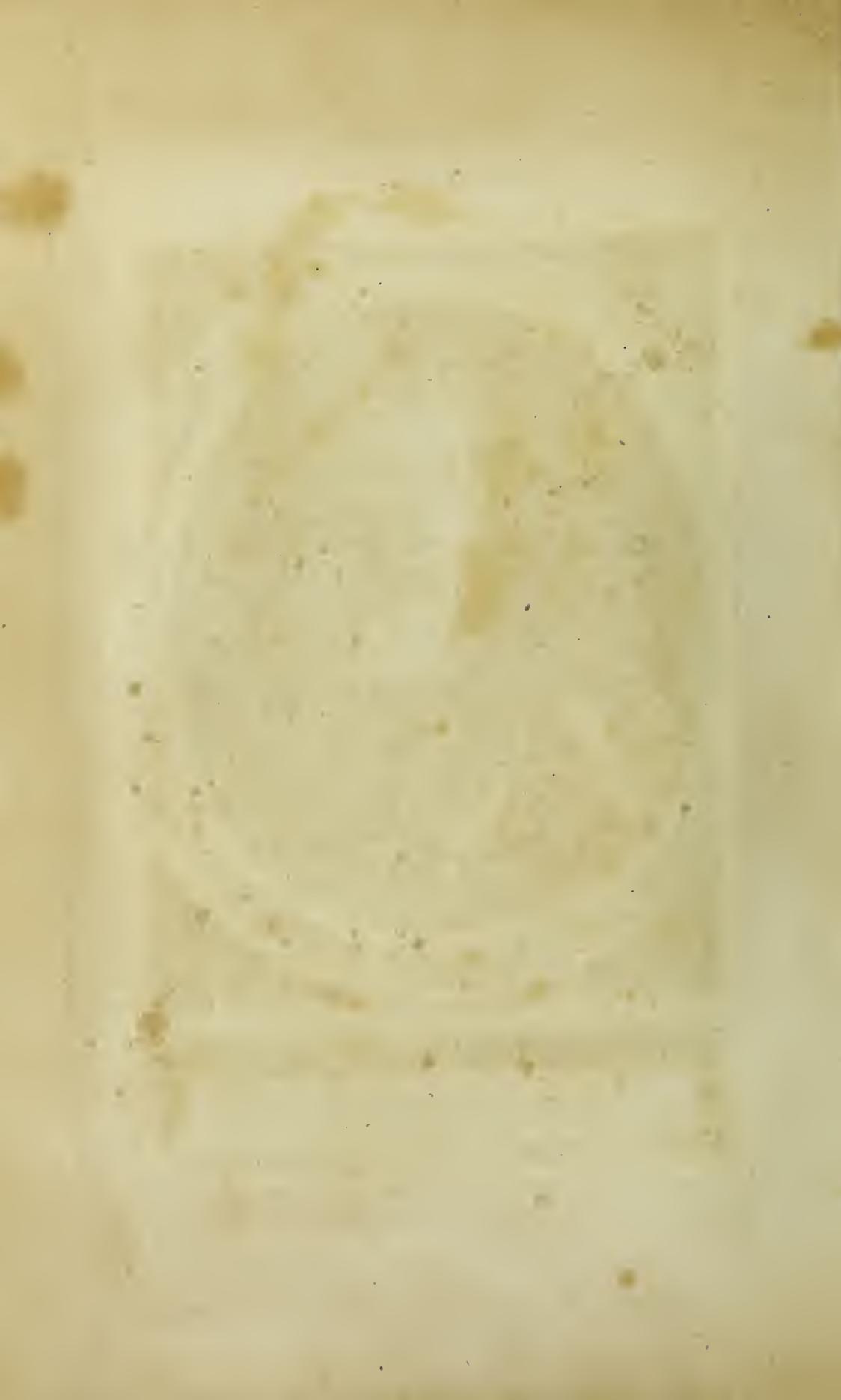
On the 31st of April, war was declared against the States General; and now the city of London had in a great measure recovered herself out of her ashes, and was so far rebuilt this year, that the king was on the Lord Mayor's day invited to dinner, which he accepted.

The king about this time issued out a proclamation for the indulgence of tender consciences, which caused great uneasines, not only in the houses of parliament, where it was afterwards reversed, but throughout the whole kingdom; and was the most violent blow that had been given to the church of England from the day of the restoration. All sectaries now publicly repaired to their meetings and conventicles; nor could all the laws afterwards, and the most rigorous execution of them, ever suppress these separatists, or bring them to due conformity.

In the month of May, 1672, the French joined us against the Dutch, but in the end betrayed us. In the engagement, upon the 18th of that month, the French stood off, and left us and the Dutch to make the best we could of it; whereas if they had assisted his highness of York, who then commanded in chief as high admiral, we had doubtless obtained a signal victory; but as the case was, we had so much the better, that, after a fight of eight hours, the Dutch made sail from us. In this engagement perished Edward Montague, Earl of Sandwich, vice admiral.



Generall Mountague, since
Earle of Sandwich.





S. Harding delin^r

W. N. Gardner Sculp^r

THOMAS WRIOTHESELEY.

Earl of Southampton

LORD HIGH TREASURER of ENGLAND



GEORGE SAVILE MARQUIS OF HALLIEAX.

It was this year that my Lord Halifax first came into business, and was sworn of the privy council. He was soon after, the 21st of July, joined in commission with the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Arlington, as ambassador to the states; but to no purpose; the war continued.

I had heard the king intended to erect a fort at Burlington, for the security of the colliers and others, trading to the northward; and I immediately applied to the Duke, entreating him to speak to the king that I might have the command of the intended place; who accordingly did: but whilst the thing was in agitation, his highness refused to take the oaths tendered to him as lord high admiral, thereby declaring himself a roman catholic, and resigning all his employments, so that nothing more was done in my business for that time.

And now the king having borrowed most of the ready money in the nation, of the goldsmiths, (at that time called bankers,) locked up the exchequer, to the bankruptcy of the most considerable of them, and the ruin of an infinite people, whose money they had borrowed at interest: and with this calamity we conclude this year.

On the 15th of August, 1673, my neighbour Sir Thomas Osborne rose to the great office of high treasurer of England, my Lord Clifford resigning his staff, and confessing himself a papist. The Duke of Buckingham was chiefly instrumental in bringing this about for Sir Thomas, by a bargain he made between Lord Clifford and him, namely, that Sir Thomas should officiate and give him half the salary, and afterwards prevailing on the king to confer the staff on Sir Thomas,

then created Lord Viscount Dunblain, though afterwards Earl of Danby, and had a patent passing for marquis just as he fell into disgrace.

The war with the Dutch still continued, Prince Rupert being admiral for us, and the Count d'Estres for the French. Two victories we now obtained over them, but they were lessened by the loss of that great seaman Sir Edward Spraig.

The parliament of these days, had from the beginning, which was soon after the restoration, been perfectly well inclined to the king: they had given him a very great revenue upon tonnage and poundage, as also by an excise upon severals sorts of liquors, hearth-money, not to mention temporary taxes, the whole amounting to above three times more than had been enjoyed by any King of England before. The country groaned under this pressure, and began to be dissatisfied; which having an influence on some gentlemen of both houses, gave birth to two parties, the one for the country, the other for the court. The former pretended in an impartial manner to espouse the cause of the people, in their liberties and properties, and whatever is dear to Englishmen; to assert the religion and government by law established: the latter pretended to the same, but thought the king was to have a competent income, and be invested with due power for the exercise of his regal office, without having too great a dependance on the people, a cause which had been of such pernicious effects to his royal father. Hence it was that gentlemen bestirred themselves more than usual to be elected into a seat in parliament; so that great was the competition between the candidates, and at great expences they were, even



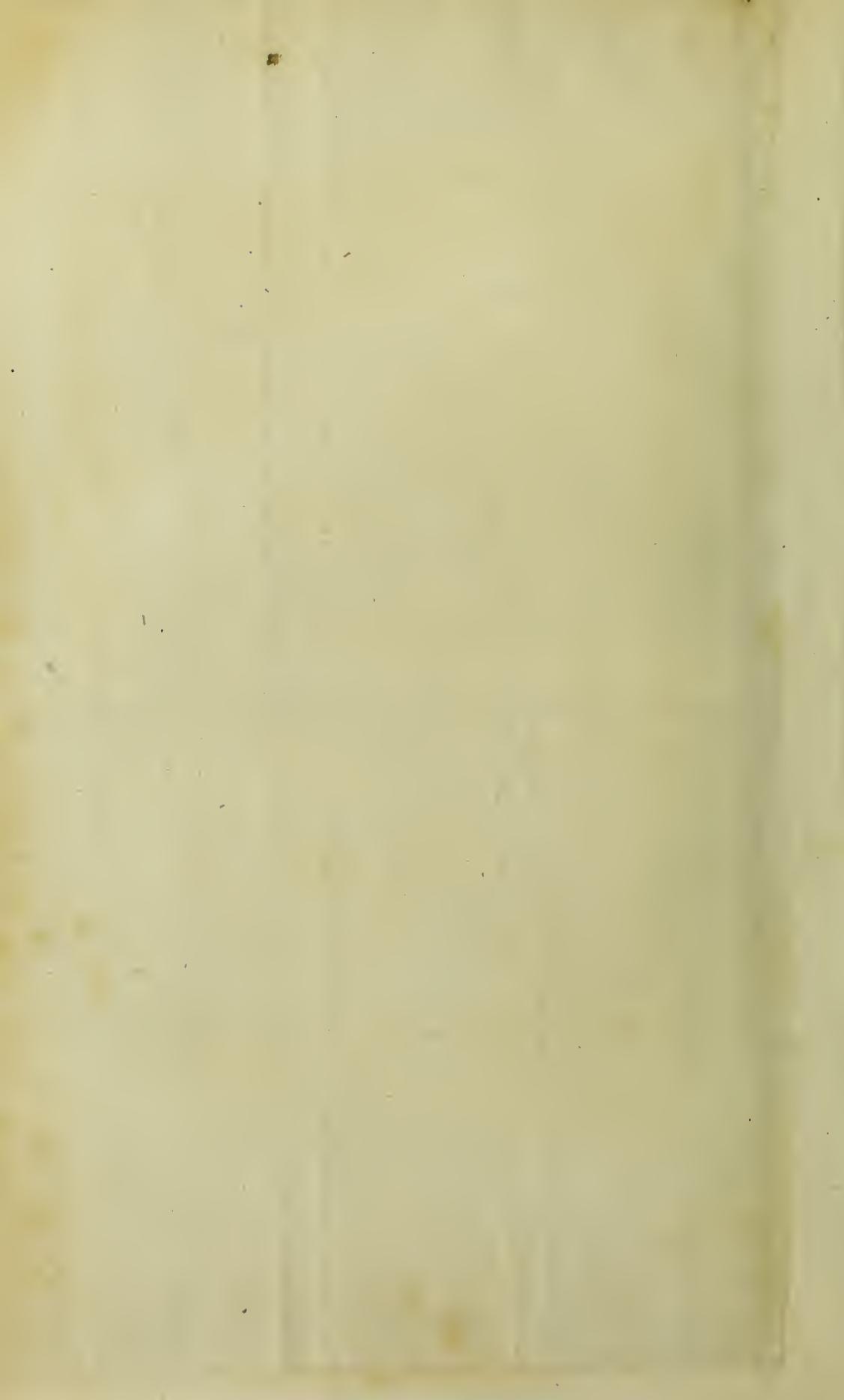
SIR EDWARD SPRAGGE

From a rare print

Pub^d 1 Mar. 1800. by Edu. Harding 98 Pall Mall.

Combat entre le Prince Robert, le Comte d'Estrées
et de Ruiter.

A. Prince Robert.
B. Comte d'Estrées.
C. de Ruiter.
D. Frégate.
E. Breskens.
F. Frégate.
G. Frégate.
H. Frégate.
I. Frégate.
K. Frégate.
L. Frégate.



from one or two hundred, to two thousand pounds. But the concerns of the public were not what alone actuated all men ; some wanted to be in the house to be screened from their debts, this parliament having sat a long while ; and some had obtained great emoluments from the court to stand up for that interest ; so that it is no wonder I had no less than five competitors when I offered myself for Audborough. And not to drop this matter here, I must observe that Mr. Benson was the most formidable of the five ; a man of no birth, but who from a clerk to a country attorney, had raised himself to be clerk of the peace at the Old Bailey, clerk of assizes of the northern circuit, as also to an estate of two thousand five hundred pounds, though not without some reflections on his way of getting it. The election was irregularly carried on in favour of this gentleman, and in January, 1674, I moved the house to determine the merit of the return ; but before the hearing came on, a prorogation intervened, so that I had the charge of bringing up witnesses, to no manner of purpose.

Towards the latter end of this year the duke declared his marriage with Mary, daughter to the Duke of Modena, not long before arrived with the duchess, her mother. The nation was much grieved at this match, the lady being a papist of the strictest class, and the whole affair managed by the French interest.

In January, 1674, the Duke of Buckingham was again in disgrace, for which he was indebted to the Duchess of Portsmouth, a French lady, and now the most absolute of all the king's mistresses ; a very fine woman she was, but most think she was sent on purpose to ensnare the king, who most readily ran into

toils of that sort. His grace in vain made use of the mediation of the lord treasurer: and to say the truth, his lordship was not altogether so zealous for his grace as he ought to have been, especially if we consider that it was to him he owed the white staff he bore. In short, the duke was not the only person that accused him of ingratitude.

The king was at this time particularly displeased with his grace, for that being summoned by the house of commons to give an account of some malversations when he was minister he did not only appear, being a peer, and that without the king's leave, but to excuse himself reflected on others, and upon the whole, behaved in that assembly in too mean and submissive a manner; which however was of no avail to him against the commons, who addressed the king to lay him aside with regard to all offices of trust or profit. His grace was also called to the bar of the house of peers, for scandalously living with the Lady Shrewsbury as man and wife, he being a married man, and for having killed my Lord Shrewsbury after he had debauched his wife.

The king prorogued the parliament to the 13th of April, 1675.

The time of the meeting of parliament now drawing on, I repaired to London, and petitioned the committee of privileges and elections; and after all endeavours to the contrary, I was voted the sitting member, and conducted into the house by Lord Russell and Lord Cavendish.

Being thus received into the house, I found the two parties in great extremes against each other. The court side was very pressing and urgent for money for



WILLIAM LORD RUSSEL.



the king's present occasions ; the country party thought of nothing less, except some laws were enacted for the better security of the protestant religion, and the grand point of property. But the two were so equal that nothing more than words passed between them ; mere words without any effect, for neither dared stand the chance of a question put. In the midst of this, on the 15th of May, Doctor Shirley prefers a petition to the house of lords against Sir John Fag, a member of the lower house, to appear and answer in a case he had brought before the lords, and a summons was sent to Sir John accordingly ; which the commons considering as a breach of privilege, great heats arose among them, and high expressions being, upon this occasion, mutually vented against each other by both houses, the king thought fit to adjourn their time of sitting for the present.

They no sooner sat again in October, than my competitor, Benson, and another, Mr. Long, petitioned against me. They would have had a short day, but it was my business to get as long a one as I could, and I accordingly did so. In short, the business of the house was of such consequence, that the prorogation came on before our cause could be heard. I took a particular account of what was transacted this session, the most extraordinary particulars of which were summarily these.

The king had in his speech acquainted us, that he was four millions in debt, exclusive of what he owed to the goldsmiths or bankers, a vast sum more, for which he paid neither principal nor interest, to the ruin of many families. It being upon this, put to the vote, whether money should be given or not—it was

carried in the negative by four voices, and that, when near four hundred members were in the house. But it appeared that both the Dutch and French exceeded us in the proportion and number of their shipping, a sum of three thousand pounds was voted to the king for the building of twenty ships, namely, one of the first rate, five of the second, and fourteen of the third.

Several ways were debated for the raising of this sum, as upon land, upon the Jews, by way of poll, or upon French commodities, and lastly, upon our own consumption, and upon merchandise. At length it was to be levied upon land, and paid in eighteen months; to be lodged apart in the exchequer, and appropriated to that particular use, with very severe penalties upon the officers that should apply it to any other: but the sum itself, the time it was to be raised in, and other circumstances, were by no means grateful to the court. It was farther voted that the customs having been formerly given to the king for the maintenance of the fleet, a clause to that effect and purpose should be inserted in this bill, or a new one prepared to confirm it.

The state of the fleet was now given in, whereby it appeared that we had no more than eight first rates, nine second rates, and forty-three third rates; while the French exceeded us in the number of these rates by six and twenty, and the Dutch by fourteen.

It was, moreover, voted that the atheism, debauchery, and impiety of the present age be inserted, as grievances to be redressed: and it being violently suspected that some members of that house did

receive gratuities from the court to vote on that side, it was put that a committee should be appointed to form a kind of oath or test, to discover what sums of money and offices had been given to parliament men to gain their interest.

The French trade also was complained of, as being thirteen hundred thousand pounds an overbalance for ours; and upon the matter it appeared, that every thousand pounds a-year had since the Restoration paid a hundred pounds in taxes to the crown.

It was also voted a grievance, that justices of the peace should be summoned to appear before the council, to account for what they did in their judicial capacity.

In November, the business of Luzance took up some time in the house. This Luzance was a French jesuit, but becoming a convert to the church of England, inveighed against the fallacies of the church of Rome, in a sermon he preached in a French church in the Savoy. This alarmed the papists, and particularly one Doctor Burnet, a jesuit, and confessor to the Duchess of York, who finding him alone in his chamber, and posting three men at the door, threatened to murder him if he did not make satisfaction for the injury, eat his words, and speedily return to France. The man in this desperate dilemma promised faithfully whatever was required of him, till he got his liberty, when presently going to Doctor Breval, a converted jesuit as well as himself, he told him the whole story; Breval the next day acquainted me with it, and I communicated it to the house. The commons took fire at this, and straight appointed a Committee to examine into the matter, and ordered me to produce Luzance the next day. He ap-

peared accordingly, and averred the thing for a truth. This was the first time I presumed to speak in that great assembly, or in any committee ; but the next day I was obliged to do it several times in what concerned this violent business.

Upon the report made from the committee to the house, my Lord Cavendish called me to give an account of some other things I had had from Luzance. One was, that two French protestants, being merchants of great substance and credit, had been threatened by certain papists, that if they were not less severe upon the romanists, they should ere long see the protestant blood flow in London streets. A committee was appointed to enquire into the truth of this matter ; and Luzance being summoned, gave evidence to the very self same effect, and gave it under his own hand. The parties he had his information from being sent for, appeared also, and declared such threats to have been used towards them by some French papists ; but, to what cause it is owing is uncertain, they gave in only such names as were of persons either absent, or of no estimation ; so that little came of this business. But these and other such informations, concerning the height and insolence of the papists, did so exasperate the house, that many motions were made to humble them. Some were for a speedy confinement of them to the country, others for banishment, and some again for disarming them, and the like.

In a short time after, the matter of Doctor Shirley's petition to the lords against Sir John Fag, was again renewed, though it had broke up the parliament the last time. There were those who thought the king had consented to it, disliking the warm proceedings of

both houses : while others were of opinion that the lords of the country interest had persuaded the doctor thereto, with a view thereby to kindle such a flame between the two houses, that the king should be obliged either to prorogue, adjourn, or dissolve them : the said lords apprehending that if this parliament should sit much longer, the majority might be gained over by money and places, so as to become quite obsequious to the court ; and this my lord Halifax (then in the interest of Lord Shaftsbury, his uncle, who was upon ill terms with the court, being no longer lord chancellor) told me was his opinion.

But whatever the cause was, the effect was such that the commons refusing to let their members plead at the bar of the lords during a time of privilege, it was resolved that the lords, by receiving an appeal from any court, either of law, or equity, against a member of the lower house, during a session of parliament, were thereby infringers of the privileges of the commons of England ; and that such lawyers as should attend as counsel to plead in any such cause at the lords bar, should be deemed as betrayers of the rights of the commons of England ; and that the said vote be affixed to the door of the house of commons, Westminster-Hall, and the inns of court ; which was accordingly done : And the same day it was voted by the lords, that the same was illegal and unparliamentary, and tended to the dissolution of the government : and upon the whole, that they would not recede from their right of judicature by appeals from the courts of equity.

It was then put to the question, if the king should not be petitioned to dissolve this parliament, and it

was carried in the negative by no more than two votes.

This misunderstanding between the houses was very dissatisfactory to the king. The lords who had voted for the dissolution of this parliament, entered their protest in the journal of their house, together with their reasons for so doing; so that things being at this pass, the only expedient left, was to dismiss the parliament, which the king did, by prorogation, to the 10th of February next.

Before I left London, I, at the interposition of my Lord Ogle, went with his lordship to see the Duke of Buckingham, being well assured that I should be kindly received.

I had a fine black of about sixteen years of age, presented to me by a gentleman who brought him over from Barbadoes: This black lived with me some years, and died on the 20th of October, 1676, of an imposthume in his head. Six weeks after he was buried, I received an account, that at London it was credibly reported I had caused him to be gelt, and that the operation had killed him. I laughed at it at first, conscious it was a falsehood, and a ridiculous story, till being further informed that it came from the Duke of Norfolk and his family, with whom I had some differences at law, and that he had waited upon the king to beg my estate, if it became a forfeiture by this felony; I thought it convenient to send for the coroner to view the body with a jury, before it was too far decayed, that a rottenness of the part might not be imputed to incision. The coroner accordingly summoned a jury, and does his office; but when they came to uncover the breast, it was so putrified they would go no

further; so that upon the examination of eleven witnesses, some that laid him out, and some that saw him naked, several, because of his colour, having a curiosity to see him after he was dead, they gave their verdict, that he died *Ex visitatione Dei*, by the hand of God.

This, however, was not thought sufficient; for within a few days after, there came one Bright, a lawyer, one Chappel, an attorney, (both concerned in the duke's affairs,) and one Buck, a surgeon, of Sheffield, whom I caused to be prosecuted not long before for having two wives, together with some others, with my lord chief justice's warrant, directed to the coroner to take up the body; which the coroner refused to obey, saying, he had done his office already. These ambassadors, however, took up the body, and Buck, under pretence of viewing the part the better, would have taken it up with a pen-knife, but it was not suffered, lest by that instrument he should give the wound he sought for: But what was not only a mercy, but a miracle also, the part proved to be perfectly sound and entire, though the body had been so long under ground, and the rest of it was much putrified and decayed; so that shame of face and confusion came pretty plentifully upon the actors in this extraordinary scene.

A black and most ridiculous piece of malice this; for had their suggestion been proved a fact, all their art could never have so fixed it, as to have endangered either my person or estate. My lord chief justice Rainsford acted irregularly and illegally in this business, his information not being given in to him upon oath. And indeed, he afterwards confessed he was misled into it, and that the duke's solicitor was most

pressing and urgent with him, to grant the warrant.— The Duke of York told my brother, he wondered such a stir was made about a report which must certainly be a flat falsehood: And Lord Ogle acquainted me, as did also my lord treasurer himself afterwards, that he, meaning the treasurer, had taken great pains to prevent the begging of my estate; and I believed it to be true, but shrewdly doubt it was with design, had it proved a forfeiture, to have secured it to himself; I was told as much afterwards. I endeavoured however to reach the bottom of this plot, and to procure myself some reparation, as may be observed hereafter.

Having kept my Christmas in the country, I no sooner returned to London in the February following, than my lord treasurer sent to speak with me. I waited on him therefore, and found him very open in his discourse upon several subjects, but for the most part lamenting that his countrymen would not allow him an opportunity to be of service to them with the king, and making many protestations that the jealousies of those who called themselves of the country party, were entirely groundless and without foundation: that to his certain knowledge, the king meant no other than to preserve the religion and government by law established; and, upon the whole, wished that neither himself or his prosperity might prosper, if he did not speak what he really believed: that if the government was in any danger, it was most from those who pretended such a mighty zeal for it; but who under that pretence were endeavouring to create such discontents between the king and the nation, as might produce confusion in the end; and intreated me to be careful how I embarked myself with that sort of

people. My reply was, that I hoped I was not one to be wilfully misled ; that I should have no rule to go by in that house but my reason and conscience, and that so I could be of no particular faction or party : that as much as I yet understood of the duty of a member of the house of commons at this time, suggested to me a moderation between the two extremes, and to have an equal regard for the prerogative of the king and the liberty of the subject.

True it is, till now, that the treasurer used such solemn asseverations, with regard to the king's good intention, and pretty clearly convinced me that some of the chiefs of the country party had most at heart their own private interest, whatever they asserted in favour and defence of the public, I had great notions of the truth and sincerity of the country party.

The parliament meeting on the 15th of February, the king particularly desired a considerable sum for the building and rigging of ships. The country did every thing possible to stint the sum to four hundred thousand pounds; while the courtiers were for a million, or eight hundred thousand pounds at the least ; but the moderate men stept in between with an offer of six hundred thousand pounds, which sum was granted, and for this I gave my vote, a sum intended for the building of thirty men of war of several rates.— My lord treasurer took it so kindly that I sided not with those, who did all they could to weaken and distress the crown, that he would needs carry me to kiss his majesty's hand, which I had not yet done since I came to town ; and presented me in the lobby of the house of lords, next to the prince's lodgings, nobody being present but his majesty, his lordship, and myself.

He said much more of me to the king than I deserved, but lastly, that as my family had been always loyal, he knew I was perfectly inclined to tread in their foot-steps ; and that the best way to confirm me in such my disposition, would be to let me understand how little of truth there was in the pretences set on foot to deceive gentlemen, and withdraw them from their duty. “The king said he had known me long, and “ hoped I knew him so well as to give no ear to such “ reports of him. I know, says he, it is said I aim at “ the subversion of the government and religion: that “ I intend to lay aside parliaments, and to raise mo-“ ney another way; but every man, nay those who “ insist the most thereon, knows the thing in all its “ circumstances, to be false. There is not a subject “ that lives under me, whose safety and welfare I de-“ sire less than my own: and I should be as sorry “ to invade his liberty and property, as that another “ should invade mine. Those members, continued “ the king, who boast this mighty friendship for the “ public, are of two sorts, either those who would “ actually and irretrievably subvert the government, “ and reduce it to a commonwealth once more; or “ else those who seem only to join with the former, “ and talk loud against the court, purely in hopes to “ have their mouths stopped with places or prefer-“ ments.” And to say the truth, the treasurer had named some of the chiefs to me, who had desired so and so of the king, and upon such conditions promised to come over.

I made answer to the king, that indeed the pretences were many, and, to some, I believed, plausible, that were raised in opposition to what others under-

stood to be for his majesty's interest: but that they had gained but little on me, who had had the honour of being so long known to his majesty, and had been so lately confirmed in my belief by assurances from my lord treasurer: that to the best of my knowledge I should never do any thing that became not a true and faithful subject, or should be inconsistent with the prosperity of his majesty's royal person and government. The king said he was very well pleased that he had seen me, commanded me to wait on him sometimes, and told me I should have access to him when and wherever I desired it.

The condescension of the king, in giving this satisfaction to so mean a person, convinced me very much of the truth of what he said, as did also his natural temper and constitution; for he was not an active, busy, or ambitious prince, but perfectly a friend to ease, and fond of pleasure; he seemed to be chiefly desirous of peace and quiet for his own time.

At this time a great dispute arising between the lord marshal of England, Lord Henry Howard, (though commonly called Duke of Norfolk) and his younger brothers, they not only petitioned the house of commons in behalf of themselves, but also of their eldest brother the duke, whom the said lord marshal kept up at Padua as a lunatic, though perfectly in possession of his senses, praying that the house would be pleased to move the king to oblige the marshal to send for him into England. Upon this a debate arose in the house, every one delivering his mind according to his belief, or prejudices; till at length the gentlemen of the house who had been at Padua, were desired to give their

opinions as to the state and condition of the duke. Upon this occasion I declared that at the time I saw him, he laboured under all the symptoms of lunacy and distraction. This being carried to the lord marshal, who was very conscious I was indebted to him for no obligation, he sent a gentleman to me the next day to thank me for my generosity to a person who had not seemed to have been so much my friend as he ought to have been, and touching obliquely on the affair of the blackamoor, he said he intended to wait on me to give me some farther satisfaction as to that.

My answer to this message was, that I was surprised at the compliment from a gentleman to whom I intended none, what I had said having been with a due regard to truth: that however I was not sorry I had happened to oblige his lordship by it; and that since he had denied all concern in the iniquitous affair of my dead servant, I would prevent his lordship, and wait on him myself; as I did two or three days afterwards. He received me with all the civility and kindness imaginable, and wished that neither himself or prosperity might prosper, if he was any way aiding or assisting in the plot laid against me. I told his lordship, that I could not but add faith to his words; but that if he was not, I was well assured his servants were; and therefore desired he would give me leave to use my best endeavours to find it out: with all his heart he said, he did not only consent to it, but would moreover assist me in the inquiry; and so, with all possible demonstrations of friendship we parted.

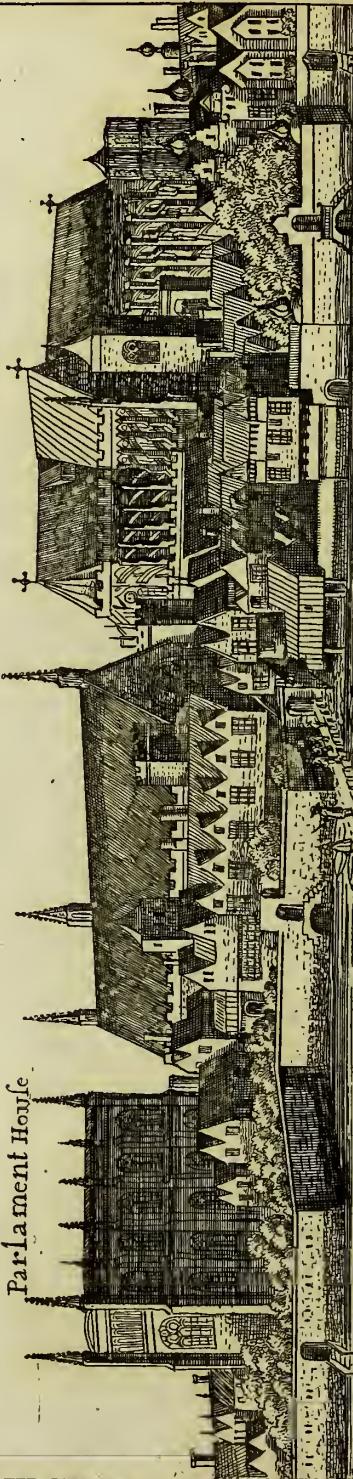
I very often visited and dined with my lord treasurer, and often waited on the king, who, when he saw me, would ask me how things went forward; and par-

PART OF WESTMINSTER

the Abby

the Hall

Parliament House



ticularly, on the 18th of March, I entertained him a long while, in the Dutchess of York's bed-chamber with what had then been transacting in the house of commons.

This session had gone on smoothly and sedately enough, in both houses, my lord treasurer having so ordered it, that the king's party increased rather than the other, but it was much feared that some votes were obtained more by purchase than affection ; and with this we close up the year.

On the 29th of March, 1677, the commons voted a second address to the king, that he would be pleased to contract alliances for the preservation of Flanders in the hands of the King of Spain ; but with this restriction, that his majesty should not be obliged to return any answer to the house, upon the subject of the said address ; though a number who would have drawn him into inconveniences, would have had him urged to declare his intentions therein ; by which he must have either disengaged the nation on the one hand, or on the other have declared war with France, before he was prepared to prosecute it.

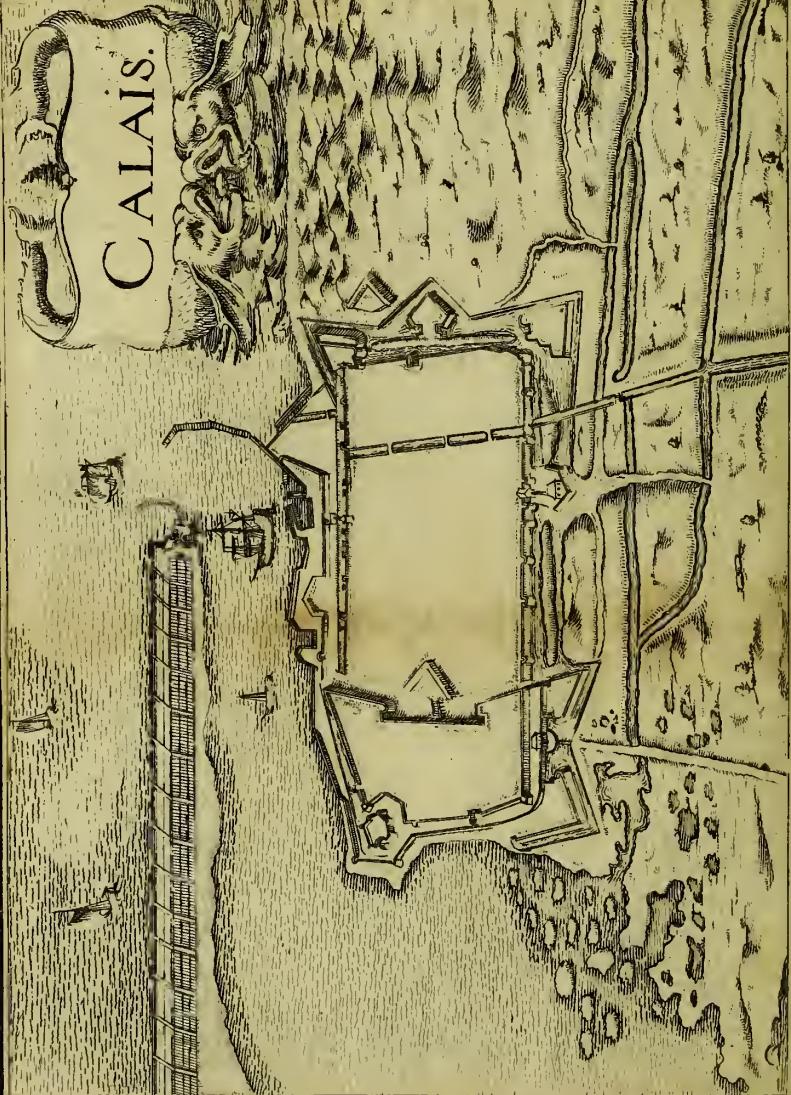
The king and the duke had both of them much interested themselves in the affair of my election, which being to be tried on the 12th of April, his majesty gave orders to his servants that were of the house, to attend the committee, and assist me with their best services when it came on. The same day the Duke of Albemarle came down to engage his friends to be for me, nor did the Duke of York forget to concern himself very earnestly in my behalf.

The same day being alone with the lord treasurer, in his coach as he was going to Westminster, I told

him that some of the discontented had resolved to hasten the money-bill as fast as might be, that so the house might rise before Easter, and the public bills, that were preparing, be left unpassed ; hoping thereby to incense the nation, and bring about a cause of complaint against the king, as if he called the parliament together for nothing but to get money from them. His lordship answered, that the king, well aware of the design, would prevent it by a message, that day to be delivered to the house by Mr. Secretary Coventry, to this effect, that if ought remained undone, which the house judged necessary to be done for the good of the nation, the king would allow them a sufficient time after Easter, and that when they were ready, his majesty would pass their bills ; a message that was accordingly delivered.

My lord treasurer sent for me among others, desiring us to assist what we could, towards the reconciliation of a difference likely to take place between the two houses, about framing the bill for the six hundred thousand pounds, to be given to the king, which might endanger the loss of the same : for the commons had made a clause therein, enjoining the officers of the exchequer to give them an account of the disbursement and distribution of the said sum ; while the lords had asserted they should be accountable to both houses. This the commons would not suffer, alleging the lords could neither add to nor take away from a money-bill ; for that as it was peculiar to them only to give money, it was to them only that account was to be given how it was applied. The lords to this replied, that to deny them the power of calling the officers of the exchequer to a reckoning, was to abridge them of the privilege of

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judicature they undoubtedly had as the supreme court; and by way of precedent observed, that when the convention gave money for the disbanding of the army, an account of the same was ordered to be laid before their house as well as the other. They both adhered tenaciously to their point, till the king at length prevailed with the lords to erase their clause; and so the commons got the better of the day.

It was not long before this, that the king of France, having obtained a victory over the Prince of Orange, did in his return by Calais send over the Duke of Croquy, and the Archbishop of Rheims, to pay a compliment to our king, who returned it by my Lord Sunderland. This gave just cause to think there would be no war between the two kings, contrary to what the parliament had so earnestly advised. I saw a copy of the letter these ambassadors brought with them; beginning with this stile or title, *Tres haut, tres excellent & tres puissant Prince, tres cher tres aimé bon frère cousin & allié*: And in truth our king's neutrality deserved all this from France, and much more.

Not long after, on the 12th of May, having an opportunity of a private conversation with the treasurer, I complained to him of the injustice done me in the foolish story of my black's castration, as also of the king's readiness to grant away my estate. He said he did not believe the king had given it, for that he had begged of him not to be too hasty in that particular, believing the report to be a malicious lie: but that he was of opinion with me, that now was a fit time to ask his majesty for something by way of reparation, and that he would assist me therein. His lordship was upon this occasion so open with me as to tell me, that

though the king denied scarce any thing to the duke, his brother, he certainly did not love him at his heart.

He told me also that the king had no mind to fall out with France ; and that if the parliament would effectually engage him in that war, their way would be to furnish him with sums of money to prepare for it, and that no less than six hundred thousand pounds would be absolutely necessary for that purpose. That if the king accepted of this, he would be obliged to carry on the war ; but that if the parliament would not trust him, he was in the right not to embark himself, and might justly argue, " How can I depend on my parliament to furnish me with regular and equal supplies to carry on a war, which they will not so much as enable me to prepare for ? " But I easily saw through this ; I plainly perceived it was all artifice to get the fingering of money.

He moreover said, that the king could not in honour join the confederates against France : that in all the treaties the King of England had been mentioned as principal in the war : that in the beginning he did actually join with France, and that for him now to turn his arms against that crown, would look neither just nor honourable in the eye of the world. This his lordship told me was the king's own way of arguing, whenever war happened to be the subject of their discourse together ; but that his answer to his majesty was, that he needed not be so regardful of that transaction, the French king having played him the very same trick when Chancellor Hyde was chief minister. To this he replied, that the French king had a pique against the lord chancellor : to which the treasurer subjoined,



OLIVER CROMWELL.

From an original Picture by Walker.

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that whatever was the cause, the thing was as he had said.

He was so free also as to tell me still further, that the duke was the grand promoter of the French interest, and that he now made his court to the sectaries and fanatics, only to give strength and vigour to the popish interest: that his highness was so very a bigot, that though the Archbishop of Rheims made no scruple to go into our churches, and even kneel down during the time of divine service, the duke at the same time could not be prevailed on so much as to step within the doors. He observed that the duke was particularly unhappy in his servants, a senseless pack; but that indeed his confessor was a notable man, and one that had a great influence over him; being as well as his master averse to a war with France. His lordship however declared himself for it.

The next day I went to visit the Duke and Duchess of Lauderdale, at their fine house at Ham. After dinner, her grace entertained me in her chamber with much discourse upon affairs of state. She had been a beautiful woman, the supposed mistress of Oliver Cromwell, and at that time a lady of great parts. Both her grace and the duke her husband, were entirely in the treasurer's interest. Her chief complaint was, that the duke so adhered to papists and fanatics, and so put the king upon changing the deputies of Ireland, and all purely for the subservience of the Romish interest; and in short, let me into the secret of many things I had never so much as heard of before; and particularly acquainted me with the state and bent of Scotland, which, as her husband was lord commissioner, she was well able to do.

The day after I went to ask Mr. Secretary Williamson, if any entry had been made in his office concerning my estate? He answered he durst only own it to me in private, but that upon some rumour of a forfeiture, by some act of mine, it was true that Mr. Felton, of the bed-chamber, had begged it of the king, and entered a caveat thereof at his office.

Upon this I prevailed with my lord treasurer to go with me to the king, of whom I begged two things, namely, that he would be pleased to order Mr. Secretary Williamson to erase a caveat that had been entered with him, upon his majesty's granting away my estate to Mr. Felton, reputed to be forfeited by my pretended felonious practices with the blackamoor that died in my service: and that also he would be pleased to lay his commands upon my Lord Chief Justice Rainsford, to discover to me at whose solicitation, or upon what suggestion it was his lordship issued out his warrant to the coroner to take up the body after it had been so long interred.

To the first the king answered, he did not remember any grant he had made of my estate to any person whatsover, but that if any such caveat was entered, he would see that it was expunged. As for the second, he directed my lord treasurer to send one with me to my lord chief justice, as from him, to do as I had desired; which his lordship did the next day by his secretary. When we came to him, he told us the whole matter, and begged I would excuse him for having been so very forward in that affair; and indeed he had good reason so to do, having done more than he could justify; for he had granted his warrant upon a bare suggestion, that the moor had died by such an act,

without taking any information either in writing or upon oath.

The parliament met at Westminster, on the 21st of May, pursuant to adjournment; and the king, in his speech, told the house, he could not make such alliances as they desired, except they gave him money, to make preparations for war. The commons did not approve of this, and voted that no money should be raised, till the king had first entered into a league offensive and defensive with Holland, and the rest of the United Provinces, for the safety of these kingdoms, and the recovery of Flanders, and to abate the power of the French king.

On the 17th of the same month, in answer to this, the King said, they had exceeded the bounds and methods of parliament, that they entrenched on his prerogative, by not only directing him to make alliances, but by pointing out to him what those alliances should be, and with whom to be made; that the power of making peace or war resided wholly in himself, and that if they took that from him, he should have nothing left but the empty name of king, and no more, and that in such case, no prince or state would enter into engagements with him: upon the whole, he rejected the address, but would use such means as became him for the preservation of his kingdoms; adjourning them to the 16th day of July following.

In the mean time, having heard that my Lord Yarmouth was one that had begged my estate, upon the occasion of the death of my black, and understanding that his lordship was come to town, I presently waited on him at his house, and being with some difficulty admitted (for I had never seen him) asked him if the

thing was true? Whereupon he bitterly swore he never asked it from the king, and that he never knew any thing of it, farther than that one Wright, solicitor to the Lord Henry Howard, did come and acquaint him that there was likely to be such a forfeiture, and advised him to use his interest with the king for it; but that he absolutely gave no ear to the proposal, saying, —“ He would never be the richer for the misfortunes of others”—that he believed it was pure malice against me, and that he would serve me all he could to find out the authors of it. In short, I got from under his hand, that he was neither directly or indirectly concerned in begging my estate.

The very same day I found out Mr. Wright, and threatened to bring my action of scandal against him, upon the information I had received from my Lord Yarmouth, if he did not let me into the whole intrigue. He then ingeniously confessed, that both Bright and Chappel before mentioned, had given him an account of the moor's death, with all the circumstances of his pretended castration, and with all assurance of the truth of what they said; and that he telling the story to Lord Henry Howard, his lordship sent him to Lord Yarmouth, advised him to beg my estate of the king, and that he begged it accordingly. I was now much surprised that two noblemen should make their honour so cheap, and deny a real fact with such oaths and asseverations; but considering with myself that to make more stir in the thing, would be only to make a great deal of noise about a very foolish story, I contented myself with this satisfaction, that as a sign of their shame and repentance, they had both given themselves the lie.



On the 19th of October, a marriage was agreed on between the Prince of Orange, and the Lady Mary, first daughter to his royal highness, to the great joy of the nation ; for his highness being a protestant prince, this match in a great measure expelled the fears that the majority had conceived concerning popery. Lord Danby, the treasurer, was believed to have promoted this alliance, and got good reputation by it.

On the 26th, the parliament, which was to have met upon the 3d of December, was by proclamation prorogued to the 4th of April ; but nevertheless, the public business required it, the day was shortened, and they were to meet on the 10th of January, but when the time came, they were adjourned for fifteen days.

On the 2d of November, I dined with my lord treasurer, who received me very kindly ; and the next day I kissed the king's hand, and the duke's. His highness, among other things, told me the reason of this short adjournment was because the king could not so fully acquaint both houses why they were called together at this time, till he had a more perfect account of a treaty now upon the carpet with Spain ; and after some other discourse of public concern, I gave him some assurances of duty and respect, which by a former, though false, report, he had some reason to doubt of.

The parliament met, and the king, in his speech, informed them, that he was entered in a strict alliance with the Prince of Orange, and the United Provinces, to oppose the French king, and the progress of his arms in Flanders ; and desired he might have money to enable him to fulfil his engagements.

On the 21st of November, the commons voted an

address of thanks to the king, for the care he had taken of the protestant religion, in marrying his niece to the Prince of Orange ; but observed they could grant no supplies for the war, if his majesty and his allies would not engage to lay down their arms, till the treaty of the Pyrenees was performed, and till the French king was reduced to the condition he then was in ; for that without this, neither this kingdom, nor the rest of Christendom was safe.

On the 30th they voted the sum of seventy thousand pounds, to be raised for the royal interment of King Charles the Martyr, and for erecting a monument to his memory.

Supping this night with my lord treasurer, he told me he fully had intended to solicit the king to do something for me ; but, if he had really meant it, I knew he might have done it long before then.

On the 4th of February, 1677, the king sent us an answer to our address, and therefore pressed us to raise money to carry on the war ; and to prevail on us the more effectually, he acquainted us with the alliances he had made ; which so wrought upon the house, that the question being put, it was carried by two and forty voices, to assist his majesty in the war, and to consider of the way to do it ; but it being late, the debate was put off till the next morning.

The next morning I waited on the Duke of York, and had a great deal of discourse with him concerning this matter ; and being the night before with my lord treasurer, the scheme was laid how to proceed the next day.

Great debates had arisen upon this affair, and the reason of the violent opposition it met with, was a de-



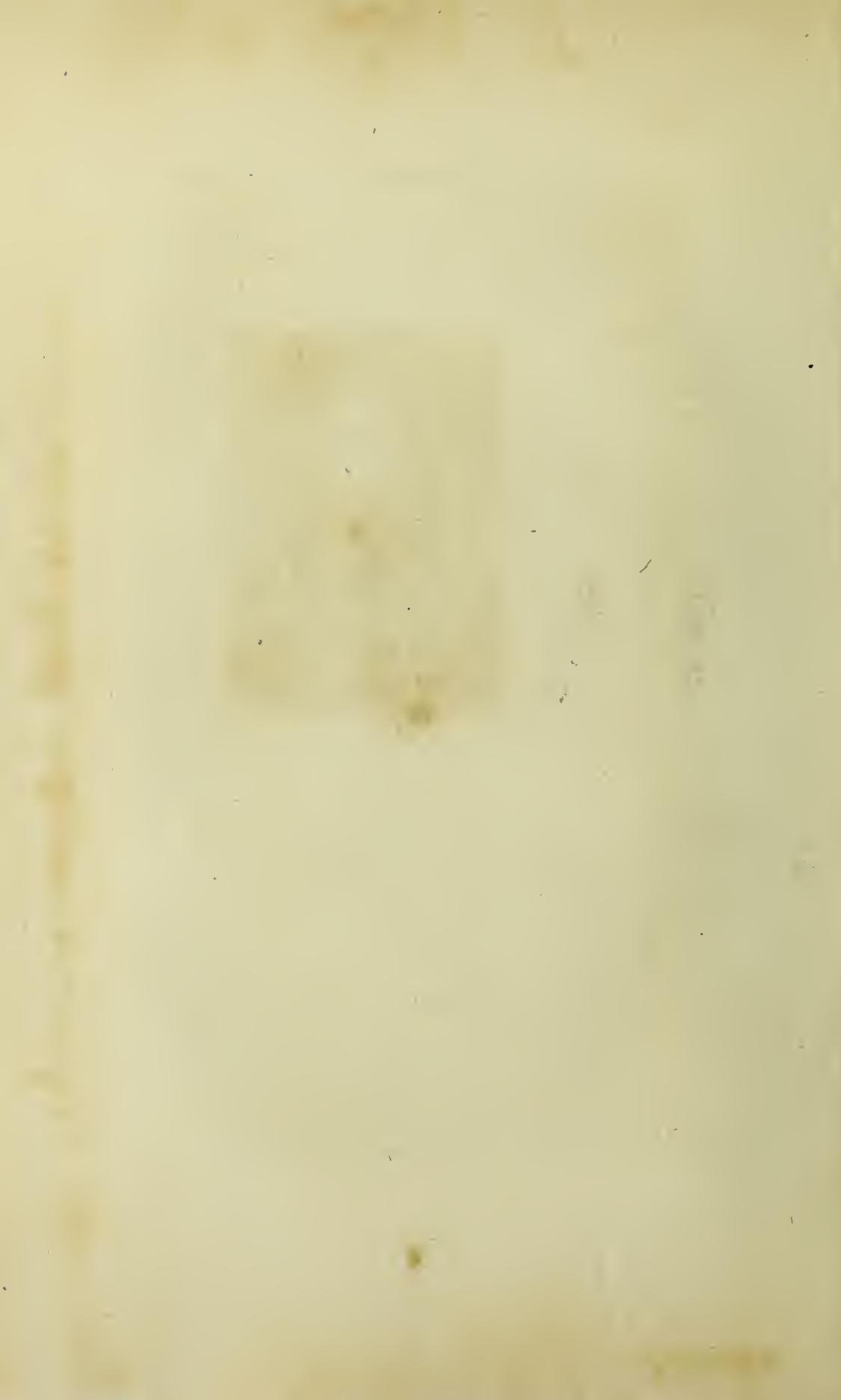
Painted by Van Dyke

Charles 1st King of England.

Engraved by James Armstrong

London Pub'd for the Proprietor. March 1821





sire in some to oppose the crown, though in the very thing they themselves wished for, the nation being ever desirous of a war with France; and a jealousy in others, that the king indeed intended to raise an army, but never designed to go on with the war, and, to say the truth, some of the king's own party were not very sure of the contrary. However, the commons soon after voted money for the raising six and twenty regiments of foot, four of horse, and two of dragoons, together with a navy of ninety men of war, for a war with France.

A few days afterwards, I acquainted the king and the duke with some of the transactions of the house, and of the doubts some had there expressed concerning the ratification of the peace betwixt us and Holland. To which the king replied, "that the league "offensive and defensive was actually signed by the "states, so that they could not now recede, but that "the ratification was not yet sealed, the several pro- "vinces having not yet confirmed the act of their de- "puties, and of the council of eight who had re- "ceived it."

The great business of granting an aid to the king came on debate in the house on the 18th, where it was thoroughly controverted, and many difficulties were started, and many mistrusts of the king. Among others, I spoke and attempted to shew the necessity there was for a trust at this time, and how impossible it was (though some ground might appear for it) to recede at this hour of the day.

The next day the commons voted a million, to enable the king to make war with France, for the preservation of Flanders.

We had at this time news that the French had taken Ghent and Bruges, and that Ostend was besieged ; whereupon the king caused sixteen hundred men to be immediately drawn out of his guards and other forces here, and sent them to Ostend, under the command of the Duke of Monmouth ; in short, this news quite alarmed Flanders, Holland and England. The commons particularly concerned themselves therein, and now grown warm, they begin to reflect on the king's ill counsels, that had not advised him to a war before. No man was named, but they plainly pointed at the Duke of York, and the lord treasurer.

Attending the king's levee on the 28th, his majesty told me and some other members then present, " that " except the money voted was speedily raised, it would " come after the French king had done his work." His highness also told me the same morning, that his friends would have a hard task of it that day, he being informed that some of the house had resolved to renew the debate concerning ill councillors ; but I assured him it was not likely, having but the day before heard a leader of the anticourt party say, it was no time to raise disputes at home, now that we were in such a way of being embroiled abroad ; and it proved even as I had said.

But after all, news came on the 2d of March, that Ghent and Bruges had not been taken, as had been reported ; and moreover, that Mons. Rovigny was coming over, on the part of France, with tenders of peace. The parliament started at this, and grew jealous the offers would be accepted ; but still our forces marched onwards, in their way to Ostend ; and two days afterwards the bill for raising money, by way of poll, was

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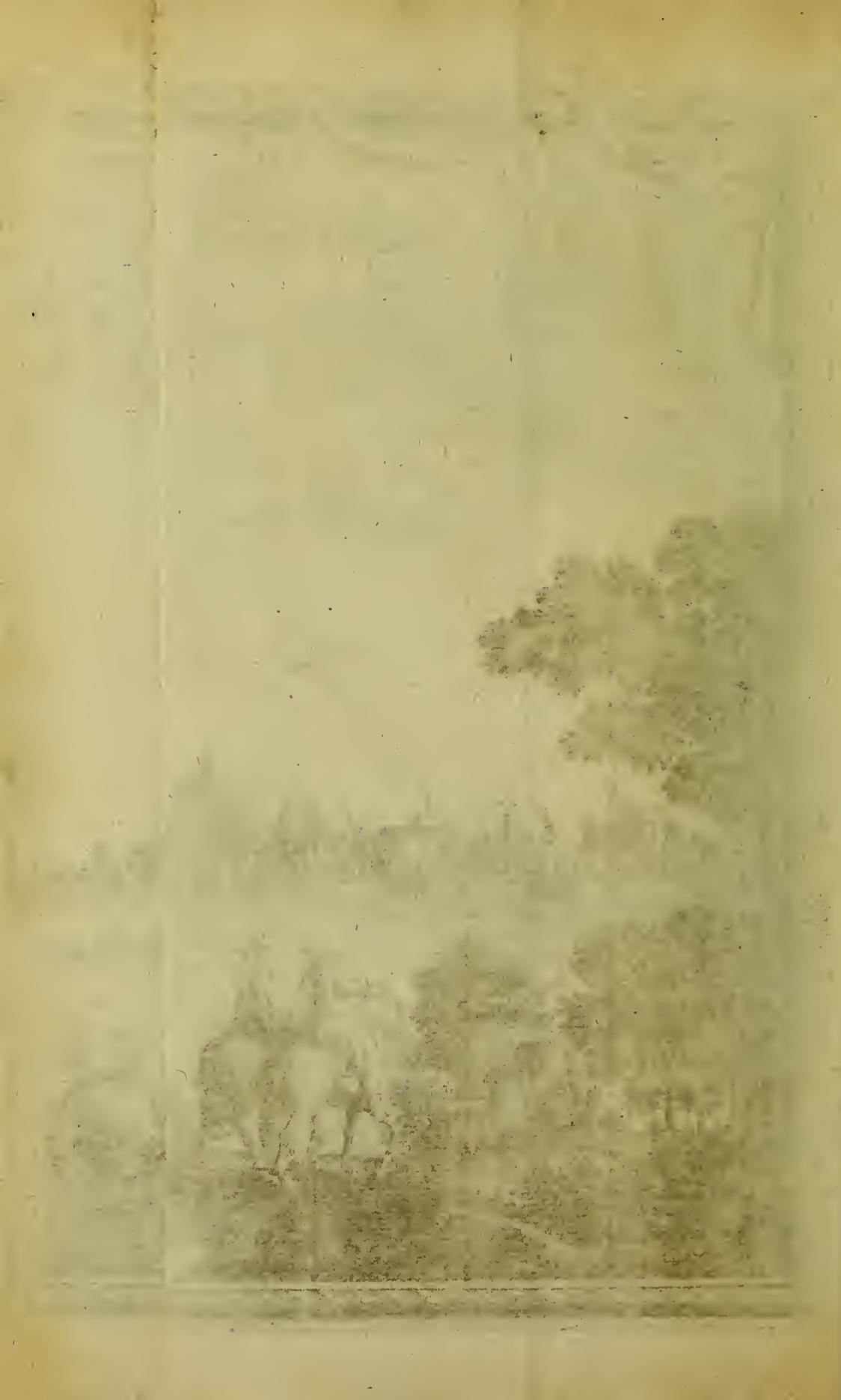
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perfected, when the king and the duke talked much of a war, though still it was suspected their hearts were more inclined for peace.

On the 10th, his highness told me, he was informed of a design in the house of commons, to fall upon him and my lord treasurer, and desired me to oppose it. My lord treasurer assured me of the same thing, and that it was to be done that very day. That, among other articles, they laid to his charge a treaty between the king and the Prince of Orange; but that in reality there was no such treaty; and had it been, he did not think it had been disadvantageous to England. Another of his crimes, he said, would be for advising the king to make a peace which he never did; though it was not impossible but such a design there might be; but that if so it were, it proceeded from nothing but the king's own judgment, who was that way very much bent, if lawful it were to say.

On the 14th several speeches were made in the house, full fraught of jealousies and fears, and particularly with regard to the army at this time levying; as if it rather intended to erect absolute monarchy at home, than infest the enemy abroad. Complaints were made of evil council, and of the councillors, but still no body was named. A long debate it proved, and in the end produced an address to the king, that before they proceeded to give any more money, his majesty would be pleased to declare war with France, and withdraw his ambassador from that court. It was also stiffly contended, that a part of this address should be to intreat the king to put away those evil councillors from about him, who had advised him to adjourn the parliament in May last, and prevented a war with France all

this time ; but this being put to the question, it was carried in the negative by five votes only.

The commons then resolved, that a day should be appointed to consider of the state of the kingdom with regard to popery : and three days afterwards my lord treasurer sent for several members of the house, and me among others, to the treasury chamber. His lordship there told us, it became all good subjects to withstand all such motions and proceedings, which tended only to perplex the minds of men, and disturb the public tranquillity ; in short, to raise jealousies agianst the government. The duke also, among other things, told me, it would do to disarm all popish recusants, which he seemed to think a ridiculous thing ; and here we put a period to this year.

At this time, many well meaning men began to fear the army now raised, was rather intended to awe our own kingdom, than to war against France, as had at first been suggested ; and it being put to the question, on the 8th of May, 1678, whether an address should be made to the king, for laying aside Duke Lauderdale, of the kingdom of Scotland, it was carried in the negative by one vote only.

The question was put again, and carried, that such councillors as had advised the king to make such answers to the late addresses from his parliament, being betrayers of the king and kingdom, or to that effect, an address should be humbly presented to his majesty, to lay them aside from his councils, and remove them from their other employments. This address was accordingly presented on the 10th, and his majesty's answer was this, that they were so extravagant in the contents of it, that he was not willing to make such

reply to it as it deserved. Lauderdale was particularly named. And the same day it was carried, though but by one voice in a full house, that the king's message lately sent to them to consider of some means for a supply to his majesty, for paying off his fleet, should not be observed.

On the 13th, the king understanding the tide of their proceedings to run so very high, prorogued them to the 23d of the same month, which put a stop to their further proceedings.

It was, at this time, generally believed that peace was concluded between us, the confederates, and the King of France. We blamed the states for their ready compliance; the states blamed the Spaniard who was full of his offers, while he had neither men, arms, or money in Flanders to defend it; and they both fell upon the parliament of England, who when they should have given money, and made other preparations for the war, were wasting their time in quarrelling at home with the government, and with each other.

The parliament met on the 23d, pursuant to adjournment, when the king spoke to them a little more briskly than usual. He told them, a peace was near upon conclusion between France and the confederates, at which they were extremely concerned. This peace with France, when there was like to be so strong a union combined to reduce that proud and potent king to a better sense of himself, was very ungrateful news to England; and therefore the king, to throw the blame of it upon the commons, told us, in his speech, it was owing to their refusal of money, till something was done for the security of their religion; their ne-

gligence to direct or advise him concerning the intended war, or to assist him till he had changed councillors, and consequently the little hopes the confederates could have of help from him ; that this, together with the low condition of Spain, had prompted them to lend an ear to the offers of peace ; not to speak of the sluggish motion of the Germans, the difficulty of getting them together, their princes being influenced by such discordant views and interests, and the present poverty of the states general, all which had contributed towards the cessation of the war.

But still our king was chiefly condemned in this great affair, as he so long deferred to engage in this alliance ; which, had he sooner done, the French king had never dared to persist in the war ; at least he could not have made so great a progress in Flanders, or have been able to make so good a market for himself, as he did by this peace.

To this our king made answer, he could not have believed the French king would have been able to weather out a war so well as he did, though in a manner against all Europe, himself and the King of Sweden only excepted, who sat neuters : and that in case this number of enemies had humbled that kingdom, England might well have been satisfied with the having been an unconcerned looker-on, while she engrossed all the commerce of Europe, and might in the end have reaped an equal share of advantage with even the labourers themselves, who had been at all the pains and expence.

On the 4th of June the commons voted two hundred thousand pounds, to be given for disbanding the army ; but under great restrictions, fearing the king might take the money, and convert it to other uses.

Wherefore great penalties were levelled against the officers of the exchequer, and others, through whose hands it was to pass, to prevent their diverting it from its right channel, and this done, the money was cheerfully given, the nation, and its representatives, dreading nothing so much, at that time, as a standing army.

On the 22d there was fresh discourse about a war with France, the French king and ours not agreeing concerning the interest of the King of Sweden, which the French would have to be adjusted, before they would deliver up the towns they had taken in Flanders: but, by what I heard, I thought the thing had but an unlikely aspect, and particularly as I had seen the king, duke, and French ambassador so very often merry, and intimate together at the Duchess of Portsmouth's lodgings, laughing at those who believed it in earnest.

On the 10th of October came the first news of the popish plot, or a design of the papists to kill the king. Nobody can conceive that was not a witness thereof, what a ferment this raised among all ranks and degrees. Being at this time in the country, I hurried to town with my family.

The parliament met on the 21st, and the king in his speech told us, he had kept the army on foot longer than by the act for disbanding it was allowed; but that he had done it to preserve the rest of Flanders, which had proved an expensive precaution to him; that he was deeply in debt; that his revenue would not defray the charge of the government; that he would satisfy them as to this, by laying the whole scheme of his income before them, and that he then doubted not but they would make him a proper aug-

mentation. That there had been a design against his life by the Jesuits and their friends; but that he would not descend to the particulars of the thing, lest some should think he said too little, and others, that he said too much: in a word, he left the whole to their discovery.

The two houses (but the commons especially) took fire at this, and immediately voted an address to the king, that all papists should be removed ten miles from London. And now came on the tragedy of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; and now also appeared Doctor Oates, who, as he pretended, having some jealousy of what was in agitation, dissembled himself a papist, and got admittance of the jesuits college at St. Omer's, where seeing into the whole matter, he told it to one Doctor Tongue, an English divine, who told it to my lord treasurer, who privately told it to the king, in such manner that the thing was stifled and latent for a whole month. But being with the king at the Duchess of Portsmouth's lodgings, on the 20th, my lord treasurer also being present, the king told me, "he "took it to be some artifice, and that he did not believe one word of the whole story."

On the 25th Coleman's affair made also a noise, and seemed in some sort to confirm the other. He made very free with his highness's name upon several important articles, though the duke was an utter stranger to his correspondence, as he desired his friends of both houses to declare for him. The commons, however, were very angry with my lord treasurer, for keeping the plot so long in the dark, seeing the king might have been made away with in the mean time. This news I first of any body communicated to his lordship, in the presence of the king, who said, "my lord was

“ in no fault as to that ; he having commanded him to
“ keep it secret, the better to make discovery of what
“ truth there might be therein.”

Now to enter into the particulars of this plot, real or pretended, is not the design of this work ; the several narratives of the witnesses before the two houses of parliament, and the courts of justice, upon the trials of the parties accused, give sufficient insight and satisfaction, as to all that can be said of it. Thus much we may, however, observe, that though a great deal of what was advanced and confidently related, bore the face of improbability, yet such was the torrent of the times, that no doubt was to be made of all that was heard.

All the beginning of November was taken up by the commons, in examining of witnesses concerning the plot, who came in very plentifully, the king having, at the request of the commons, granted indemnity to all who should make any discovery, though ever so deeply and blackly engaged themselves, and not only indemnity, but subsistence into the bargain. At length the commons came to this resolution, that upon the evidence which appeared from Coleman’s letters, and the informations of Oates and others, it was plain there was a hellish and damnable design to assassinate and murder the king, and to subvert the religion and government as by law established.

The house of lords now requested his royal highness to withdraw himself from the king’s councils, and he complied with the request ; but the commons went a step higher, and were for removing him from about the king’s person. There were those in the house who argued the danger of this, observing that his highness

might be thereby tempted to put himself at the head of the popish faction. Some there were also, who moved that the duke should be sent out of England. The king and duke, both, spoke to all their friends to oppose this, and it was effectually done; for no resolution being taken that day, the debate was adjourned to the 8th instant. But though it came not to the vote, the house was generally of opinion, that the duke's being of that religion was what principally encouraged the papists to such wicked attempts: in short, they were, by proclamation, banished to the distance of ten miles from London.

While Coleman's letters were under the consideration of the house, I waited several times on my lord treasurer, who had called several of us together, on the 6th and 7th of November, to consult us about an act to lessen the popish interest in this kingdom; when his lordship told us, the king was willing something should be enacted, to pare (as his expression was) the nails of a popish successor; but that he would never suffer his brother to be taken away from him, or the right line to the crown to be interrupted; and to the same effect the king spoke to the two houses the next day.

To pass over other things more generally known, a jealousy now seemed to arise between the duke and the lord treasurer. The duke thought his lordship was within himself for his leaving the court, that so he might have the king the more absolutely in his own power: and my lord (though I believe he endeavoured to serve the duke all he could, though no friend to his religion) resented the duke's suspicion. Much was, at this time, done and transacted, in disfavour of the popish party; particularly on the 13th, the lords

passed that great bill to incapacitate such of the Roman catholic members as should refuse to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy ; though my lord high treasurer said in my hearing, but the night before, he was sure it would never pass in that house.

The Duke of Holstein's resident had, it seems, reported the lord treasurer to be in the pay and pension of France. Thus, at least, had his lordship been informed, and sending for him, he sent for me also to be present at the examination ; but the resident absolutely denied what was laid to his charge. To make amends for this, I, a few days after, acquainted his lordship, that the same gentleman had assured me, the commons would most certainly fall upon him, and that it was in his power to turn the edge of one that was most violent against him. I told him also, that I had, from other hands, been informed, that my cousin Ralph Montague, since Lord Montague, lately recalled from being ambassador in France, and now member of our house, would accuse him there. But my lord gave no ear to either of these ; saying, the latter durst not impeach him, for that he had letters to show from him, whilst ambassador, that would prove how officious he was to persuade him, to accept of the French king's money, though he absolutely refused it. The same day the duke told me, he expected to be attacked by the commons, and hoped his friends would stand firm to him ; and Sir Joseph Williamson, secretary of state, was, by the house, committed to the tower, for passing the musters of some popish officers, without tendering them the oaths, though he had his majesty's orders for so doing.

Bedloe, the evidence, went on apace, but being on

the 21st with the king, his majesty told me, “ Bedloe
“ was a rogue, and that he was satisfied he had given
“ some false evidence, concerning the death of Sir
“ Edmundbury Godfrey.”

In preparing the bill for purging the house of lords of such as refused the new test, it was put to the question, whether or no his royal highness should be excused from taking it, and it was carried in the affirmative, but by no more than two votes: had it been carried in the negative, he would, in the next place, have been voted away from the king's presence. And now all the popish lords, three excepted, were expelled the house of peers.

Having proceeded thus far, the commons voted an address to the king, on the 1st of December, from that house, to represent the ill state of the nation, and the danger it was in, by his majesty's adhering to private councils rather than to his two houses of parliament: this aimed at my lord treasurer, and some others of the cabinet council. This was carried by two and twenty votes, and even some of the courtiers were for it; whence it was by some surmised, that the duke, being no longer in councils, was grown jealous of the treasurer, and had a mind he should be removed. It was now said the duke had been persuaded (but unjustly) that his lordship endeavoured to insinuate into the king, that there was something of probability in the accusation against the queen, purely that he might hearken to a divorce, and marry another more likely to bring children to the crown.

The commons were now intent upon disbanding the army, raising of money for that purpose, and the conviction of popish recusants; during which the right of

the lords to interfere in a money-bill was warmly contested; but not to dwell on so nice a subject, on the 6th the king caused Mr. Montague's papers to be seized, and acquainted the house of commons, that having been his ambassador at the French court, he had taken on him to treat with the pope's nuncio, without any commission from him for so doing; and that he had seized his papers to come at the purport of the said treaty. But Montague assured the house, that this was a mere artifice, a contrivance of the treasurer's to save himself; but that his lordship had therein failed, for that although most of his letters were seized, he had by good luck saved the most material. One of them, dated the 25th of March, 1678, instructed him to acquaint that court with the great difficulties he met withal here in the affair of peace between us and them, and the fear there was the parliament should discover it: that, however, he had orders from the king to bid him treat with them for a peace, as well between them and the confederates, as ourselves; upon condition, the French king would give ours six hundred thousand livres per annum, for three years together, after the conclusion of the peace; for that as our king would thereby disgust the parliament, he could expect no money from them of so long a time: and finally, that when he wrote back to the secretary, concerning this transaction, he should be silent as to the money, and so on.

(Signed) DANBY.

This put the house into a flame, and a motion was instantly made, that the treasurer should be impeached of high treason; for that he had endeavoured to estrange the king from his parliament, and make it of

no use to him ; and one Mr. Powel observed, that this was usurping a power to the exclusion of other counsellors, who had a right to advise the king as well as himself; the very treason that was laid to the charge of the Spencers, and the duke of Ireland, in the days of Richard the Second.

But it was answered, that it was no such great offence to write this by the king's own order, as was expressed in the letter itself, and would be owned, as supposed, by the king at this time. That the king had certainly a power to advise with which of his councillors he pleased ; and that if his majesty foresaw the confederates would strike up a peace, which we must comply with, where was the harm of making what advantage we could of it to ourselves, and at the same time of sparing the purses of the subject ?

A second letter was produced, which gave assurance of inclinations for a very fair understanding between us and his most Christian majesty ; together with advice to hasten the peace ; because the duke seemed every day more and more averse to it ; and mentioned some towns to be given up by the French, as cautionary, to the confederates, upon the conclusion of this peace. Mr. Montague then declared in the house, that the French king was willing to deliver up two towns more than he did by the former treaty ; but that my lord treasurer was so earnest and pressing for money, that he thereby made the terms much worse for the confederates ; but at the same time acknowledged he could not say he knew of any money paid either to him or to his majesty. Other things were now laid to the treasurer's charge, as the mal-administration of his office, and the lowness of the exchequer : but to this

it was answered, by his lordship's friends, that a debt of six hundred thousand pounds had been paid off since he had been in office, though no money had in all that time been given to the king, but what had been appropriated to the uses designed.

He was farther accused (this letter bearing date the 25th of March, 1678, and the act which gave money to the king to enter into a war with France being passed but the 20th) of deluding the nation, in advising the king to take money for raising an army for service abroad; and at the same time treating for money from France to make a peace, which looked as if a standing army was designed to humble England, and not France. In short, the question being put, it was resolved, that an impeachment be drawn up against the lord treasurer, and a committee was accordingly appointed for that purpose,

Mr. Montague was, in this case, justly censured, for disclosing what had passed through his hands, when a public minister, without the king's leave. Meanwhile, the treasurer endeavoured to destroy the credit of his accuser, and on the 7th produced some letters from him, when in France, which were read in the house, and made it appear that Montague had been very guilty of the offences he threw upon his lordship: but his enemies were so many and so powerful, that the whole edge was bent against him; in a word, the tide was not to be stemmed, and six articles of impeachment were drawn up against him.

But a debate arose, whether, supposing any of these articles to be true, they amounted to high treason, none of them being within the statute of Edward III. At length the question being put, whether or no an im-

peachment of high treason, founded upon the said articles against his lordship, should be carried up to the house of lords, the ayes were 179, and the noes 130. The impeachment was carried up to the bar of the house of lords on the 23d, where it being presently debated, whether or no his lordship should withdraw, it was carried in the negative by 20 voices; and then both houses adjourned for Christmas eve, and Christmas day only.

On the 26th the houses met, and the commons heard some evidence concerning the death of Sir Edmund Godfrey, and quarrelled with the lords on account of the amendment they had made in the money-bill for disbanding the army. The same day I spoke both with the king and the duke, who both declared they would adhere to my lord treasurer.

The next day the lords voted, that he should not be committed: and the same day the dispute between the two houses, concerning the money-bill, was decided by a conference, and the bill passed both houses. And here I cannot but take notice, that the king observing the Lord ~~St~~afford to be very violent in the house against the Lord Danby, (which, it seems, took birth from a personal pique to him, for obstructing a pension he had from the crown) told me, “ he wondered at it much, seeing his father came to the unfortunate end he did, by the very self same method “ of procedure.”

On the 30th, when it was least expected, the king prorogued the parliament to the 4th of February; some said in favour of the papists, others of the lord treasurer, and others again in defence of his prerogative, which was more than one way invaded by the

commons : but his majesty at the same time declared he intended to disband the army, and prosecute the business of the plot. Montague was now discovered in a disguise at Dover, in his way to France.

On the 24th of January, 1678-9, my lord treasurer sent for me, and told me, the king had declared he would dissolve the parliament, and advised me to make interest as soon as I could against the approaching election, for that another parliament would speedily be called. This parliament was, for the most part, very loyal both to the king and the church ; which made those of adverse sentiments very desirous of its dissolution ; and the way they contrived to bring it about, as was credibly reported, was by persuading the treasurer to obtain it of the king, promising if he should succeed therein, that there should be no farther prosecution against him in the next parliament ; but they deceived him, as he afterwards experienced.

On the 31st, both the king and the duke advised me to stand for the next parliament, and both of them assured me, not only of my government of Burlington, but of their assistance also, if it came to a controverted election.

On the 6th of February a proclamation coming out for the election of a new parliament, my lord treasurer conducted me to his majesty, and thanked him for his promise of continuing me in my government ; to which the king replied, that I had served him faithfully, and that he intended to be kind to me. My lord treasurer wrote also to the high sheriff of Yorkshire, to be favourable to me in the return ; to conclude, having taken leave of the Duke of Monmouth, I left the town to go into the country.

On the 6th of March the parliament met, but a difference arose about the choice of a speaker, the house being for one, and the king recommending another; wherefore they refused to enter upon business, but adjourned to the 7th instant, then to the 8th, and so to the 10th. The next day I met the king in his royal robes, and with his crown upon his head, as he came out of the house of lords: he stopped to ask me if I was elected? to which replying yes, he said, he was glad of it. Upon my return to town, I, to the surprise of all men, found that the king had commanded the duke to go into Flanders: some said the treasurer had brought this to pass, that he might engross the king to himself; others said it was to divert the violence of both houses against his highness, from the suspicion of some that he was of the plot. But I presume it was chiefly intended to extirpate all jealousies in the parliament, that he was influenced by popish councils, though even from his own brother.

The commons began to be angry with the treasurer, for that the speaker they had proposed had been rejected by the king; saying he was the cause of it, because, truly, the gentleman was not his lordship's friend. This dispute subsisting between the king and the commons, they at length address him, beseeching him not to invade their undoubted privilege of chusing their speaker; but his majesty still insists on it, that without his approbation, their choice is of none effect. Now all the moderate men in the house were concerned that such punctilios should stand in the way of business, especially when business of such high importance lay before them; but the angry party was deaf to all remonstrance; and the king, by way of expedient,

prorogued the parliament to the 11th instant, and from thence to the 15th, when Serjeant Gregory being elected, both sides were satisfied.

The storm now begins to fall heavy upon the lord treasurer, insomuch that he has thoughts of delivering up his staff, and with it his office, in hopes by such resignation, to allay the heats against him. I was averse to this step, I confess, and would have had him stood his ground, as long as the king would stand by him, saying, his resignation would but expose him the more to the power of his enemies; in short, that the lords would fear him the less, and the commons not love him a bit the better. Several persons had got possessed of good employments, not so much by my lord's favour and kindness, as by giving money to his lady, who had for some time driven on a private trade of this sort, though not without his lordship's participation and concurrence. This I knew, but had neither the face nor the inclination to come in at that door; so that I was postponed to many, who, as I thought, deserved as little as myself; but they had but a bad bargain, they were now all swept away with the same torrent that began to overwhelm his lordship; against whom fresh matter appeared on the 17th, upon the evidence of Bedloe, before the committee appointed to examine into the plot; he accusing the treasurer of having tampered with him to fly during this interval of parliament. And now every thing went harder and harder with his lordship's friends; so that my election being controverted, the committee of privileges and elections, in a few days afterwards, gave my cause against me by a small majority of two only;

which, considering the stream of the times, I reckoned to be as good as half a victory at least.

On the 20th, a message was sent to the lords, desiring the treasurer might be committed ; but their lordships had but just before voted him eight days to prepare his defence in. On the 22d, the commons repeated their former message to the lords ; and the next day the king coming to the house of lords, in the usual state and formality, informed both houses, that it was by his particular order the lord treasurer had written the two letters, produced by Montague : that it was not the lord treasurer who had concealed the plot, but that it was himself who told it his lordship, from time to time, as he thought fit. His majesty then declared he had granted the said nobleman a full pardon, and that, if occasion required, he would give it him again ten times over : that, however, he intended to lay him aside from his employments, and to forbid him the court.

Some would have persuaded his lordship to take refuge abroad, as what would appease both houses : and indeed the lords had a conference with the commons about preparing a bill to banish him, and the commons desired some days to consider of it, in hopes he would have withdrawn in that time. In the midst of this perplexity I saw his lordship at midnight of the 24th, as he came out of his closet, from advising with his friends what to do. He gave me a great many thanks and good words ; told me he had recommended me to the king as a fit person to be sent his envoy into France ; as also where I was to make application in his absence, if I wanted any thing with the king.

The next day the commons, in a great heat, refused

to comply with the lords, in their bill of banishment ; they said it was too slight a punishment, and sent to demand justice of their lordships against the treasurer, declaring, he ought not only to be punished in his own person, but in his posterity likewise, as an example of those, who for the future should succeed him in his office : but before the message came, the lords had changed their minds, and sent the black rod for the treasurer ; too late though ; he was gone, and now it was surmised the king was grown cool towards him.

A most unhappy thing it is to serve a fickle prince, which, it must be owned, was part of our master's character. Had the treasurer considered nobody but himself, he might certainly have fared better ; but he resolved rather to suffer, than to do any thing that might derive any dishonour on the king, or others about him, as he has since said himself. This great change, I must own, made me seriously ponder the incertitude of human grandeur : it was but a few months before that few things were transacted at court, but with the privity or consent of this great man ; the king's brother, and favourite mistress, were glad to be fair with him, and the general address of all men of business was to him, who was not only treasurer, but prime minister also ; who not only kept the purse, but was the first and greatest confident in all affairs of state. But now he is neglected of all, forced to hide his head as a criminal, and in danger of losing all he has got, and his life therewith : his family raised from privacy to the degree of marquis, (a patent was then actually passing, to invest him with that dignity) is now on the brink of falling below the humble stand of a yeoman ; nor would almost the meanest subject change

conditions with him now, who so very lately the greatest beheld with envy. This confirmed me in a belief, that a middle state is always the best ; not so lowly as to be trodden on, nor so lofty as to fear the blasts of envy. A man should not be so wanting in point of industry, as not to endeavour to distinguish himself in some sort from the bulk of those of his rank ; nor yet so ambitious as to sacrifice the ease of this life, and of that to come, by mounting over the heads of others, to a greatness of uncertain duration. But to digress no farther,

I wrote to his royal highness, to acquaint him with the posture of affairs here at present. The two houses of parliament continued in division, as to what should be inflicted on the fallen treasurer ; the lords adhering to their bill to banish him, and the commons to their bill of attainder, till at last it came to a free conference between them. This business, and the plot, engrossed the attention of the houses for a long time ; during which time it was thought the Lord Danby lay concealed at Whitehall.

The king seemed not at all concerned at thus parting with his brother, and his treasurer ; nor in any degree solicitous about the use the parliament would make thereof ; though it was suspected they would get their own friends into power, and obtain a snip of the prerogative, in consideration of the money they gave to his majesty.

My Lord Danby surrendering himself on the 17th of April, 1679, was committed prisoner to the Tower, where, going to pay him a visit, he seemed to be very little concerned.

The privy council of fifty lords, was now dismissed

on the 19th, and a new one called, consisting of thirty of those lords and commoners, who had, in both houses, been most active against the late court measures ; of these were Lord Russel, Lord Hallifax, Lord Cavendish and others. The admiralty was put into commission, and so was the treasury. The duke of Monmouth was supposed to be at the bottom of all this ; it is certain it was now that he began to set up for himself.

On the 25th, my Lord Danby returned answer to his impeachment, to the upper house, pleading the king's pardon. This was sent down to the commons, who referred it to a committee ; and the result was, that his majesty had no power to grant pardon in this case : the same day both houses began to cast reflections on the Duchess of Portsmouth.

The commons, pursuant to their resolution the day before, sat on the 27th, being Sunday, to consider of the means for the preservation of his majesty's person ; and voted, that the best way would be to prevent the succession from falling into the hands of a papist, and that the Duke of York being such, was the reason of the late conspiracy against the king's person and government, and the religion as by law established.

My Lord Viscount Hallifax being now of the council, and entering into business, he, though a great enemy to the Earl of Danby, professed a kindness for me ; but here I must observe, that most of the other lords and gentlemen of the privy council, though great patriots before, in the esteem of both houses, began, in some measure, to lose their credit with both, so true it is, that there is no wearing the court and country livery together.

On the 11th of May, the lords in the Tower moved that council might be assigned them, in vain ; and a day was appointed to consider of that part of his majesty's speech, where he said he was willing to concur with his parliament, in passing a bill to limit a popish successor, so that he should not be able to alter the government and religion as now by law established, though he would not suffer the succession itself to be touched : against this day a committee was appointed to examine into Coleman's letters, and to make report to the house of whatever therein related to the Duke of York. They reported, that by the said letters they had discovered, that his highness had written thrice to the pope ; that his first letter miscarried ; that the second gave his holiness such an excess of joy, that the old gentleman could not refrain from tears ; and that the third was to excuse the consent he gave to have his daughter married to the Prince of Orange, and to acquaint him, that the run of the times had obliged him to such involuntary compliance. Upon this and some further intimation of the same nature, a debate arose, whether a bill should be drawn up in the way his majesty had suggested, or whether they should immediately proceed to a total exclusion. The friends for the limitation argued, that we might be as safely secured the one way as the other ; that a small revenue might be settled upon a papist successor while he continued in that persuasion ; that the militia might be taken out of his hands ; and that a parliament might be empowered to assemble, whenever the present king should die, and to sit for six weeks, in order to settle the affairs of the kingdom, to appoint protestant officers, military and civil, and to make choice of bishops,

which the successor, if a papist, should have no power to nominate.

To this it was objected, that such a project of procedure were altering the very frame and constitution of our government and monarchy, and directly to reduce it to a republic; that it would be quite ineffectual; that the king, by the fundamental laws of the land, was head and supreme of the three estates; that a parliament so convened as above, could enact nothing valid without him; that while he enjoyed the title of king, he would exercise a power adequate to his office; and that therefore the means proposed were delusory and unsafe, in comparison of an utter exclusion. It was replied, that this expedient was by far more to be avoided than the former; that it was depriving the duke of his birthright; that if his highness survived, he had as clear a claim to succeed the king, if he died childless, as any man whatever had to succeed to his father's possessions; that probably a prince of his spirit would not easily submit to be so disinherited; that such a disturbance of the succession had never, in this kingdom, been of any lasting effect; that right had always prevailed at last; that civil wars, upon the like occasions, had been disastrous to England; that success would reverse all attainder; and that should his highness force his way to the crown, the overthrow of religion and government were more, much more, to be feared, than by his peaceful accession.

The next day I acquainted the king with my fate in the committee, he said, "he was very sorry for it, "but that they should not stay long behind me, if they "did not use himself and his brother better than they

" did ;" and promised to continue me in my command at Burlington, with a salary of two hundred pounds, till a company should become vacant, which I should have in lieu of mine now to be disbanded with the rest of the army.

On the 14th, the king sent a message to the commons, advising them to think of raising money for the equipment of a fleet, and for a fresh provision of naval stores, very much wanted in all the yards in England. This message being taken into consideration, the house insisted on a change of the succession, and a proper security for religion, and a removal of all officers they disliked, the kingdom over. Such was the tenor of the debate, but no vote passed, except to adjourn the farther consideration of this matter for eight days.

Now the lords who were in the Tower for the plot, and my Lord Danby, being shortly to take their trials, an arduous question arose in the house of lords, concerning the bishops, whether or no they ought to be present in cases of blood. Whereupon the commons, thinking these spiritual lords would be of too favourable an inclination, took the consideration of the same into their house, and came to an opinion, they ought not to be present. This was resented by the lords, as if the commons interfered with a branch of their judicature ; in short, the dispute grew to be of great warmth.

Mean while the kingdom in general had a very melancholy aspect ; the king was poor ; the officers of the crown and of the household were clamorous for their salaries and dues, which had not of a long time been paid, and no wonder, when Sir Robert Howard, one of the chief officers of the exchequer, declared in

the house of commons, that there was not money sufficient for bread for the king's family ; there were no stores any where, either for the sea service or the land ; the garrisons were all out of repair, the platforms decayed, and the cannon dismounted ; the army divided, for the Duke of York and against him, the officers of state the same ; the parliament for the most part in a ferment, and glad of these public misunderstandings, as favouring their desire of clipping the wings of the prerogative, reducing the height of monarchy, and furthering their private designs ; the king also and his brother at variance, and so kept by those who promised to make his majesty quite easy, if he would but comply with them so far as to disinherit the duke ; so that he was quite in suspense as to what resolution he should or should not take.

The Duke of Monmouth was certainly very much in the king's affections, was evidently in councils against his uncle of York ; for all his creatures in the house voted against his highness, nor were any men higher in his estimation, than the earls of Shaftsbury and Essex, and other chiefs of the cabal. The truth is, though the Duke of Monmouth was quite finished as to his exterior, his inside was by no means of a piece therewith ; so that he was easily beguiled by Shaftsbury into the flattering notion of being, the duke disinherited, the next heir to the crown, either by the king's declaring marriage with his mother, or by being made legitimate by act of parliament. And indeed, though at the instances of the Duke of York, the king had openly in council declared, that the Duke of Monmouth was but his natural son, and that he never was married to his mother, there were numbers ready to

assert his right, and who pretended that sufficient witness was to be produced of such as were actually at the wedding, and that a record of the same was kept in a black box, in custody of some of the Duke of Monmouth's friends, but to dismiss this—on the 21st the lords voted, that the bishops might be present at the trial of the lords, and the commons committed the bill of exclusion on the 23d, upon a previous question put, the ayes 246, the noes 128.

Two days afterwards, I was at the king's couchée, and wondered to see him quite cheerful, amidst such an intricacy of troubles; but it was not his nature to think or perplex himself much about any thing. I had the good fortune to say something that pleased his majesty, and the Duke of Newcastle, one of the bed-chamber, being in waiting, his grace took the opportunity of saying some kind things of me; whereupon his majesty came to me, and reassured me of a continuance in my command, and told me, he would stick by his old friends.

But the lords persisting in their opinion, that their spiritual members might be present at the trial of the prisoners, and particularly of the Earl of Danby's, as to the validity of his pardon, which was his plea; and on the other hand, the commons voting that the said lords should not be present, and resolving only to proceed against that earl, and not the rest of the prisoners, though the time appointed for the trial of them all was come, extraordinary heats arose between the two houses, insomuch that on the 29th his majesty came and told them, that not perceiving which way they were to be reconciled, he prorogued them till the 14th of August. The city of London, where the anti-



S^R. THOS. ARMSTRONG,

Exec'd 20.th of June 1684.

Pub'd Oct 15th 1801, by W. Richardson, York House, St. Strand.

court party was very strong, took so great offence at this, and were so angry, that it was thought they would have risen; but all, with much ado, was hushed and kept quiet.

On the 12th of June, came news of an insurrection in Scotland, to the number of 7000 men; that they had burnt several acts of parliament, as the act of uniformity and episcopacy, as also the act which abolished and condemned the covenant. That they had set forth a declaration for Jesus Christ, the kirk, and the covenant; in short, some troops that were ordered out against them being defeated, the Duke of Monmouth was sent post haste into Scotland to stop the progress of this infant rebellion.

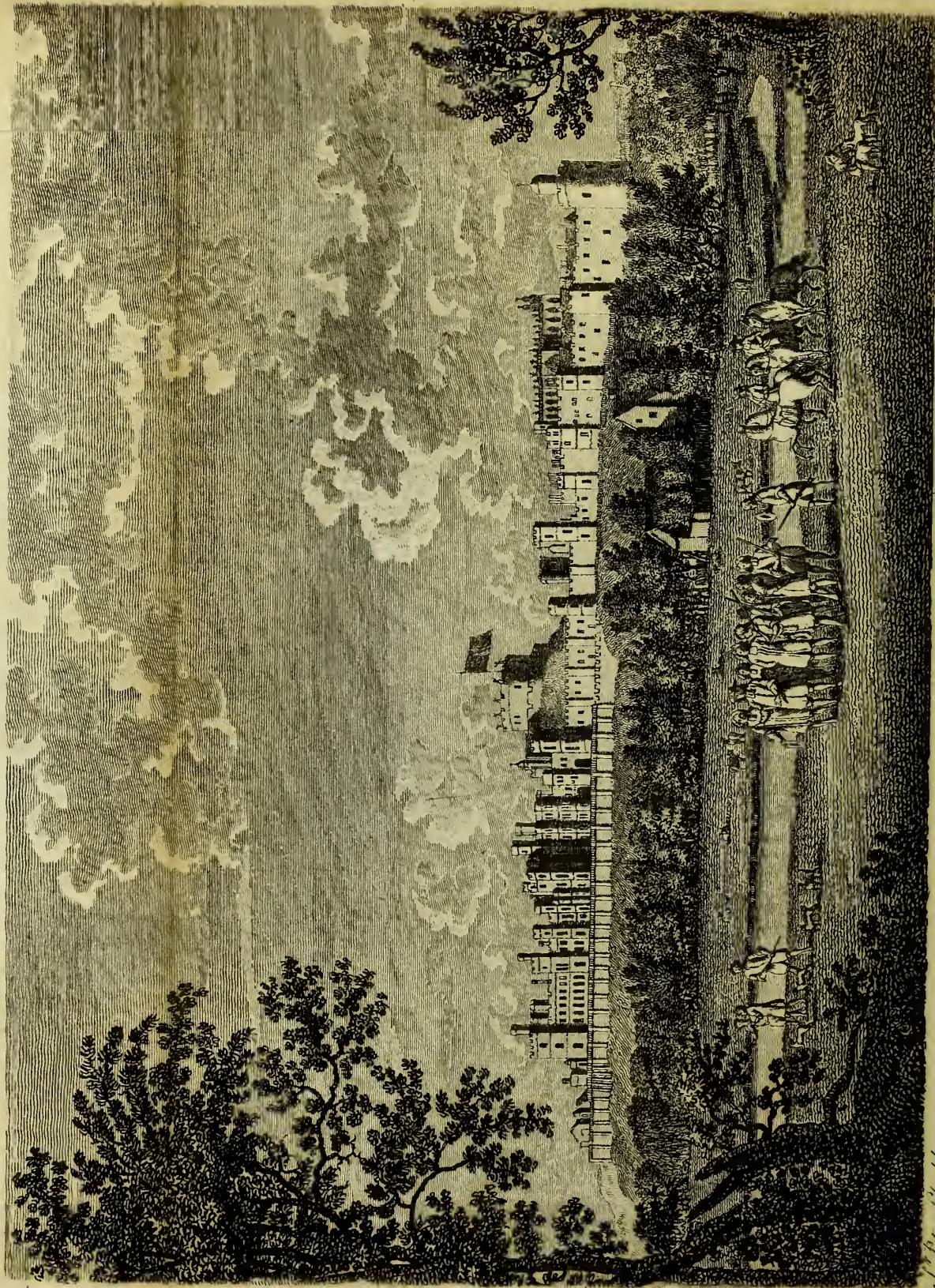
On the 22d, the king told me he had an account that the two armies were but ten miles distant from each other, that his consisted not of above 1200, and that the rebels were above 6000 strong; but notwithstanding this great odds, news came the next day that the latter, after a very poor resistance, had been utterly routed and dispersed.

Being in the country, on the 9th of July, and understanding the Duke of Monmouth was to be at Doncaster, post out of Scotland, I went to meet him, and sent half a buck, and some extraordinary sorts of wine to entertain him there. He came not till midnight, and raised me out of the bed designed for him, his delay tempting me to think he would hardly be in that night. Sir Thomas Armstrong was with him, and told me the king had heard some falsehoods concerning the duke, and had, in all haste, sent for him out of Scotland. And indeed it happened to be understood, that after his victory he was about laying a foundation

whereon to succeed in that kingdom, and by the industry of his agents making himself popular.

The Duke of York, who had been some time abroad, suddenly appeared again in England, to see the king, who, as was pretended, had not been well. The duke of Monmouth, who thought he had the king to himself, knew nothing of it, till his highness actually arrived at Windsor; nor were there above four persons who knew any thing at all of the matter, so close and reserved could the king be, when he conceived it to be necessary. This revocation of the duke was principally owing to the intervention of Lord Feversham, who afterwards told me the whole story. And now it was thought that the parliament, being chiefly made up of exclusionists, would be but very short-lived. The duke however went back again, but it was only to fetch his duchess, whom he had left behind him, returning presently, with his whole court from Flanders, and desiring of the king, that if he must needs be absent, he might rather remain in some part of his majesty's dominions, and so he was sent into Scotland. His highness then proceeded northward; but Lord Shaftsbury being soon after removed, the exclusionists began to despair of success; nor was that all; for the Duke of Monmouth having been sent into Flanders, and returning without the king's leave, drew such displeasure on him, that he was divested of all his employments. Soon after, I heard the duke had been sent for, from Scotland, by the king; that the two brothers met very affectionately, and that the king particularly should say, "nobody should ever part them for the future;" and with this we conclude this year.

In April, 1680, I went to London to solicit some



R. Godfrey sculp.

WINDSOR CASTLE.

Engraved from an Original Drawing.

Published by the Author, 1760, by D. Kelly the Younger, Cornhill.

J. Peter, del.

business at court, but the application of all men being to the duke, who quite engrossed the king to himself, his highness had but little leisure to give ear to, or assist his friends, for as such he seemed to look on me when I attended him at York, the last year, as he went down to Scotland ; and, indeed, there was small hopes of succeeding in money requests, as mine was, the king every day retrenching rather than increasing his expences, that so he might stand the less in need of his parliament, which he despaired of finding in any good humour.

There were, at this time, great meetings of persons dissatisfied with the court, where consultations were held to distress the king upon all occasions, whether in parliament, or out of it, and these resorts were called cabals. The Duke of Monmouth, the Earl of Shaftesbury, and the Lords Russel, Cavendish and others, were the chiefs of these assemblies, which, for the greater privacy, shifted every night from house to house ; the public outcry pretending fears of popery, and the safety of the king.

The king and the duke being at Windsor, came to town but once a week, to be present at council ; and finding the friends I had with the king were but of little service to me, I went myself to Windsor on the 8th of May, and acquainted the duke with a design, in agitation with some people, to prove the king's marriage with the Duke of Monmouth's mother, and informed him how he might obviate it ; for which he thanked me, and told me, without my asking it, that he had been mindful of my business. The king shewed me a great deal of what he had done to the house, which was indeed very fine, and acquainted me with

what he intended to do more ; for then it was he was upon finishing that most majestic structure. He lived quite privately at this time ; there was little or no resort to him, and his days he passed in fishing, or walking in the park ; and certain it is, he was much better pleased with retirement, than the hurry of the gay and busy world.

I returned to Windsor on the 17th, and had all assurances, from the duke, of constant services with the king, in what I solicited, which was to go abroad in quality of envoy extraordinary ; and at the same time taking my leave of his majesty, he laid his hand upon my shoulder, and said, “ he was very sensible of my “ services, and that they should be rewarded.” I took this opportunity to put him in mind of his promise to send me abroad, and mentioned a nobleman who was present when he made it ; and he said, “ he remembered it particularly well, and that, upon the very “ first occasion, he would be as good as his word.”

In October it was again rumoured about, that the Duke of York was to depart before the meeting of the parliament ; some said in obedience to the king’s orders ; others, to avoid the violence of both houses : for plain and most evident it was, that the papists lifted up their crest with great arrogance, presuming on support from the duke, who now reigned absolute in all the king’s affairs. In short, the duke and duchess set out once more for Scotland on the 21st ; and the next day the parliament meeting, the king in his speech declared, “ they were free to do whatever they “ would for the security of the protestant religion, “ provided they did not offer to divert the direct line “ of the succession.”



Drawn by J. D. Cox Esq.

Engraved by Mr. Cooke.

London: Published for the Author by T. and J. Cadell & W. Davies, Pall Mall, 2. 1826. - Jack, a Gentleman.

Illustration

But still the commons went on, this month and the next, to frame a bill to exclude the Duke of York from the succession, and the gentlemen and others of Yorkshire, who had counter-petitioned, and declared their abhorrence of the tumultuous petition for a meeting of parliament, were voted betrayers of the liberties of the people, and abettors of arbitrary power. A committee was also appointed to inquire into the matter, and after the persons concerned therein ; and two members of the house, both of Yorkshire, who had set their hands to the abhorrence, were convened before them ; but I, who was the penman of that instrument, had done it so cautiously, that no hold could be fastened, no exceptions taken, and so they got off.

In November the parliament pursued the duke with such violence, and the king was so thoroughly distressed for money, that some began to be of opinion, his majesty would abandon his brother. Attending, about this time, at the king's supper, I told him that I was threatened by some of the house of commons, to be called to an account for penning the abhorrence, and signed it with the rest of the Yorkshire gentlemen : to which his majesty made answer, " do not trouble " yourself ; I will stick by you and my old friends ; " for if I do not, I shall have nobody to stick by me." But yet, it was, by a great many, feared he was not quite resolved as to this profession ; for money was so exceedingly wanting, and the offers of the parliament so very fair, if he would but give up his brother, that nobody was safe. What added to the suspicion was, that many who were well in the king's esteem, appeared for the bill of exclusion ; nor was it unknown that the Duchess of Portsmouth was well inclined to it ; whe-

ther artfully to insinuate herself into the good graces of the party, who had been at greatest enmity with her, or in compliance with the French, whose tool she was, who was ready to catch at any thing to embroil us at home, is uncertain.

A few days afterwards, I happened to be at the Duchess of Portsmouth's, where the king was quite unreserved, and very open as to the witnesses who were making out the popish plot, and proved to a demonstration, that many articles they had given in evidence, were not only improbable, but quite impossible.

The 7th of this month was one of the greatest days ever known in the house of lords, with regard to the importance of the business they had in hand, which concerned no less than the lineal succession to the crown, the bill having passed the commons, who sent it up to the lords. Great was the debate, and great were the speakers; the chief of those for the bill was the Earl of Shaftsbury; the chief of those against it, Lord Hallifax. It was matter of surprise, that the latter should appear at the head of an opposition to the former, when they were wont always to draw together; but the business in agitation was against the Lord Hallifax's judgment, and therefore he opposed it with vigour; and being a man of the clearest head, finest wit, and fairest eloquence, he made so powerful a defence, that he alone, so all confessed, influenced the house, and persuaded them to throw out the bill.

The king was so highly pleased with the transactions of this day, that he, soon after, took this great lord into business; but, on the other hand, the commons were so angry with him, that though they could regularly take no notice of what any man said in the other

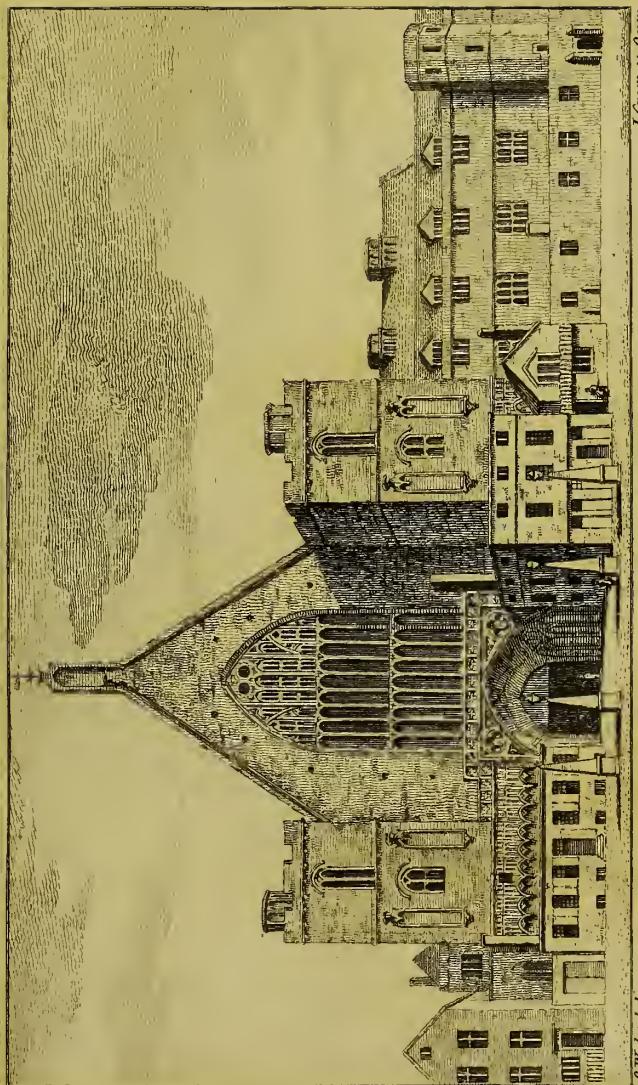
house, they voted an address to the king to lay him aside, and remove him from his councils and presence. To this he answered, “ that if Lord Hallifax had done “ any thing contrary to law, he was willing he should “ be prosecuted and punished accordingly; but that not “ being satisfied he had done any thing amiss, he could “ not part with him,” or words to that effect. One would have thought that so signal a piece of service, Lord Hallifax did to his highness, had been of a degree and nature never to be forgot: but when the duke afterwards came to be king, he, from the privy seal, where he found him, removed him to the presidency of the council, purely to make room for another, and in the end quite laid him aside.

On the 22d, I was a long while in discourse with his majesty, and, among other things, told him, I doubted whether I should be inserted in the list, the lords had voted to be given in to them, of the military officers, there being neither company nor gunner at Burlington, where I was governor, to make it appear a garrison; and that if I was, I presumed I should be of the number of those they intended to petition his majesty to lay aside: to this the king answered, “ let them do “ what they will, I will never part with any officer at “ the request of either house; my father lost his head “ by such compliance; but as for me, I intend to die “ another way.”

Lord Hallifax, as we have observed before, having defeated the bill of exclusion, in the house of lords, was beheld as the rising man, and premier favourite. I waited on him on the 28th, and the next day he took me in his coach to Whitehall, and invited me to dine with him in private: in our conversation together, he

told me it was to be feared some unhappy differences might distract the nation from these uneasinesses about the succession : and that in case things should unhappily ripen to a war, it might be proper to form something of a party in one's own thoughts. He said he knew there was but another and myself that had any considerable influence in my neighbourhood ; in consequence of which and some further conversation this way, I, the next day, carried him the names and characters of all the considerable men in those parts. And upon the whole, we agreed that the loyalists were not only the most numerous, but also the most active and wealthy ; and that those who, in parliament, were against the court, were men of little account or estimation in their own country.

But to turn our eyes upon what justly claimed the attention of all men, on the 30th came on the trial of Lord Stafford by his peers. Westminster Hall was the place, and I think it was the deepest solemnity I ever saw. Great were the expectations of the issue of this event, it being doubtful whether there were more who believed there was any plot by the papists in reality against the king's life than not. He was impeached by the commons, and being deemed to be weaker than the other lords in the Tower, for the same crime, and less able to labour his defence, was purposely marked out to be the first brought on ; but he deceived them so far as to plead his cause to a miracle. The three chief evidences against him, were Dr. Oates, Dugdale, and Turberville : the first swore that his lordship had brought him a commission signed by the pope, to be paymaster of the army to be raised against the king ; the second, that he had offered him five hundred



J. Green & Son.

Westminster Hall.

S. Ward delin.

pounds to kill the king ; and the third, that he had offered him a reward for the dreadful deed, but at a different time. And so positive seemingly were they in this and other dangerous evidence, that I, who sat and heard most of the trial, had not known what to think, had the witnesses been but men of any the least credit ; but indeed such were the incoherences, and indeed contradictions which seemed to me to rise towards the latter end, that considering them, and the very evil name of the people that swore against this lord, I was fully satisfied that all was untruth they laid to his charge : but the poor gentleman was condemned by a majority of 22. He heard his accusers, and defended himself with great steadiness and resolution, and received his sentence with great courage and composure ; nor did he stoop beneath the weight of his doom, till he submitted his head to the block, with his last breath protesting his innocence, and the cruel wrong he suffered. My Lord Hallifax was one that gave his voice for him ; and the king who heard all his trial, was extremely concerned at the rigour and abruptness of his fate.

Being at my Lord Hallifax's in the beginning of December, I discovered, what was then generally unknown, that his lordship sat up for first minister ; for I saw the French ambassador come privately to him upon business. This same day the commons were asked, what they would do for the king after so long a sitting to no effect, as to the matters his majesty required of them ? they voted this answer, that they would put him into a condition to defend Tangiers ; to pay off all his debts ; put the fleet into a condition, and enable him to assist his allies ; provided he would relinquish the duke his brother ; pass an act for the more

frequent meeting of parliament, and change such officers about him as the house should point out. There were many who believed the king would be tempted to comply ; but, the very next day, seeing my Lord Halifax, he assured me there was not the least probability that he would, for “ that it was like offering a man money to cut off his nose.”

The same day the unfortunate Lord Stafford came to the house of lords, and was admitted, under a notion that he had some discovery, or confession to make, concerning the popish plot ; but instead of that, he only protested his own innocence, and accused Lord Shaftsbury of a correspondence with the papists, and of sending him to the Duke of York, to desire him to use his interest with the king to dissolve the long parliament, as the best thing that could be done to favour the popish interest, and so he was remanded back again.

On the 24th, I was at the king’s couchée, when there were but four present : his majesty was in a very good humour, and took up some time in displaying to us the fallacy and emptiness of those who pretend to a fuller measure of sanctity than their neighbours, and pronounced them to be, for the most part, abominable hypocrites, and the most arrant knaves ; as instances of which he mentioned several eminent men of our own times, nor spared to introduce some mitred heads among the rest, whom he pretended to be none of the best, though their devout exterior gave them the character of saints with the crowd. However, there were of the men, so pointed out, some whom the king had no reason to love upon a political account, which may be pleaded in abatement of the acrimony of his censure.

He was that night two full hours in putting off his cloaths, and it was half an hour past one before he went to bed. He seemed to be quite free from care and trouble, though one would have thought, at this time, he should have been overwhelmed therewith; for every body now imagined he must either dismiss the parliament in a few days, or deliver himself up to their pressing desires; but the straits he was in seemed no ways to embarrass him, as I just now observed.

On the 26th, I dined with that excellent man Dr. Gunning, Bishop of Ely: the famous Dr. Oates was of the company at table, and flushed with the thoughts of running down the Duke of York, expressed himself of his highness and his family, in terms that bespoke him a fool and something worse; nor contented with this, but he must rail at the queen, his mother, and her present majesty. In this strain did he hurry on, while no soul dared to oppose him, for fear of being made a party of the plot; till, no longer able to bear with the insolence of the man, I took him to task for such purpose, that he flung out of the room with some heat. The bishop told me that such was the general drift of his discourse, that he had sometimes checked him for the indecency of his talk, but that finding he had done it to no manner of purpose, he had desisted from any further effort to set bounds to his virulence.

On the 29th, Lord Stafford was led to the scaffold on Tower Hill, where he persisted in the firmest denial of what was laid to his charge, and that in so cogent, convincing, and persuasive a manner, that all the beholders believed his words, and grieved his destiny. The same day I dined with my Lord Halifax, who

said to me, “well, if it comes to a war, you and I must go together.” I told his lordship, I should be ready to follow him, happen what would ; but that if the king expected his friends to be hearty in his cause, and steady to his person, he should consider with himself, and encourage them a little ; and thereupon acquainted him with some of my disappointments at court, notwithstanding the most solemn reiterated promises ; and added, that I should be glad his majesty would send me his envoy to some part of the world or other. But to return to things of more public and general concern ;

On the 4th of January, 1680, the king sent down an answer to the house of commons, signifying, that he still persisted in his resolution, not to disturb the immediate succession to the crown ; which had so unhappy an effect, as to cause the passing of some very violent votes against such as were understood to be the king’s chief advisers in this matter, namely, the Earls of Hallifax, Clarendon, Feversham, the Marquis of Worcester, and Mr. Hyde, since Lord Rochester. Upon this the parliament was prorogued from the 10th to the 20th of January ; some thought in order for a dissolution, while others persisted, that the king would suffer them to sit at that time, and pass the bill. Waiting this day on Lord Hallifax, he complained much of the severity of the commons in their vote, “ that he was a promoter of popery, and a betrayer of the people,” which, said he, were a man ever so innocent, yet coming from the representative body of the people, is too heavy for the shoulders of any one single person ; that he had therefore some thoughts of retiring from court ; but that,



Henry Earl of Rochester.
From an Original Drawing.
Vide Clarendon.

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however, he would go his own pace, and not be kicked out at their pleasure. That if for the future the king should have occasion for him, in any thing that was just, he should be ready to serve him: that if I would repose a confidence in him, he would let me know when it was time to appear for the king's service, and that I should share fortunes with him, and so on. But, at the same time, he complained of the fickleness and incertitude of the king's temper; and observed, that while he seemed perfectly to approve of the council you gave him, he hearkened to others from a back door, which made him wavering of mind, and slow to resolve. The next day I waited on Lord Danby in the Tower, and he spoke, of the king's unsteadiness, in the very self same strain; and particularly observed, that though the Duke of York had but little influence with him, as to what purely regarded himself, the minister would find him an overmatch with his majesty, as to any other person or concern. The same day the Duke of Newcastle told me he was to wait on the king the next, and that he fancied he would offer him some employment, but that as his majesty had not done it in better times, he would excuse himself now that they were so dangerous; which recalled to my mind what Lord Hallifax had observed a few days before, that the king's uncertainty and silence, as to what he proposed to himself, made men afraid to serve him.

In the midst of this, the city of London petitions the king, on the 13th, by their common council, for the sitting of the parliament, at the time appointed: to which the king made answer, "it was none of their business;" and it was the discourse that the parliament would be dissolved, and a new one called to sit at Ox-

ford. My Lord Halifax seemed averse to this dissolution, but he only seemed so; he could, certainly, have no very cordial wishes towards those who dealt so severely, as he thought, with him. My lord was now jealous, that the Earl of Danby would be taken out of the Tower, and received again into councils; which if it happened, his resolution was to retire, and his advice to me was, not to press for employment, till things were established upon a more solid foundation.

On the 16th, his lordship told me his thoughts were absolutely to retire, not that he was at all dissatisfied with the king, but that he was afraid the duke's superior prevalency with him, might peradventure carry things too far. In short, every thing now, and for some time to come, was in the most unsettled, dark, and most perplexing suspence, so that a man scarce knew what to think, or how to behave.

At length a new parliament was called on the 18th, to sit at Oxford; whether, being elected a member, I repaired, and waited on the king, who received me very kindly. I told him, I had it in charge from several gentlemen of our county, to acquaint him, they had no part in the petition offered to the knights of their shire, to prosecute the bill of exclusion against his highness; and that the thing had been managed but by six or seven factious persons, though it had been industriously reported to be a more general concern. His majesty said, he had already received some short account to the same purpose, and ordered me to return his thanks to those who did not busy themselves therein.

The parliament met on the 21st of March. The court



View of the City of Oxford.

was at Christchurch; and the commons sat in the schools, but were very much straitened for room, there being a very great concourse of members. His majesty's speech to both houses was very gracious, and calculated to reconcile all differences, and to disperse all jealousies as to religion, &c. but was still averse to what former parliaments had so pushed at, the exclusion of his brother from the name and power of king. And yet the first point debated was, whether or no, notwithstanding the king's speech, a bill of exclusion should not be framed and brought in? but for the present it was only voted, that the security of his majesty's person, and of the protestant religion should be taken into consideration the 26th instant.

Not to insist on the impeachment of Fitzharris, which was done not to destroy, but to serve him in opposition to the court; the grand argument for the bill of exclusion was, that nothing could preserve us from popery but that alone. Now the whole house was of opinion, that popery was to be kept out; the dispute was only as to the means of effecting it. The king had, in his speech, offered to agree to any thing that might serve to quiet the minds of the people as to that particular, the utter exclusion of his brother only excepted. It was therefore moved by Sir Thomas Littleton, that a bill, to secure the protestant religion, should be brought in, and consist of the following heads; that the Duke of York should enjoy the title, and the Princess of Orange exercise the power. That if a parliament should be in being, when it should please God to take away the present king, they should have power to sit: that the judges, and all other officers of the crown, should be continued, till liberty and

property were secured: that if there was no parliament subsisting, one should assemble of course: and that to prevent the duke's interfering to prevent this, he should, by the same act, be banished to the distance of 500 miles from England, not to return as long as the king lived. To this it was objected, that the name and power of king were inseparable by the laws of England; that the father would soon find a way to divest the daughter of her power; that a regency was never known but in cases of lunacy and minority; and that the duke was not of a turn of disposition to be easily governed. But to this it was replied, that regencies had been frequently allowed in other cases besides incapacity and lunacy, as formerly in France, and now in Portugal; that princes were seldom so complaisant as to resign kingdoms or powers though to a father; and that as for the authority of parliament in this case, no question but the same power that could alter the government, could also modify it. But exclusion was the word: some seven or eight disgusted lawyers, and able speakers, joined by some others, who had been so active in this matter, that they thought, should the duke ever come to the crown, he could never forgive them, wrought so prevalently upon the members in general, that it was voted a bill should be brought in, to incapacitate James Duke of York, from succeeding to the imperial crown of this realm; nor during this debate did some forbear to reflect on his highness's courage and honour.

On the 26th of the same month, the lords refused to receive Fitzharris's impeachment; observing that he being already indicted at common law, and in a way of

trial by his peers, as magna charta directed, they could not perceive how their house could take notice of his offence. The commons hereupon grew angry with the lords, and voted that such their lordship's proceeding was a delay of justice, a breach of the privilege of parliament, and a bar to the further discovery of the popish plot: and that for any inferior court to proceed therein, while an impeachment was depending, was an high breach of the privilege of parliament. The heats grew, in short, to an excess in both houses, both as to this, and the bill of exclusion. The commons, however, were of opinion, that the king would give way to them, he having already made such advances towards their measures, and being in such thorough distress for money, besides that many who were near the king, urged them to persist still in their endeavours. But on the 28th, the very day the king had appointed the theatre to be made ready for the commons to sit in, they having complained of the straitness of the schools; the black rod came, and commanded them to attend at the bar of the house of lords, where being come, the king, in his robes, told them, that observing a great difference to have taken place between the two houses, which, if they sat any longer, might increase to a pernicious degree, it was his pleasure to dissolve that parliament; a blow so little foreseen, that there were those who thought there would have been some stirs or risings about it, in London.

It was now observed, that many of the discontented members, of both houses, came armed, and more than usually attended; and it was affirmed there was a design to have seized the king, and to have restrained him till they had granted their petitions. But if any

such design there was, it happened that the parties either wanted the courage, or the opportunity to put it in execution ; the king immediately departed with all speed for London.

His majesty was so kind as to afford me several opportunities of speaking to him, while I was at Oxford ; and Lord Hallifax taking leave of him, and, in a particular manner, recommending me to his thoughts, his majesty laid both his hands upon me, and thanked me for my constancy to his interest, and bade me be assured of his affection.

By this abrupt dissolution, and what I had heard from Lord Hallifax and others, I concluded the king was determined never to relinquish his brother ; as also to call no other parliament for a long time yet to come. The truth is, the question now was not so much, whether the duke should succeed or not, as whether the government should be monarchial, or republican ? some of the adverse side, had, in the house, babbled out, that the bill of exclusion was not the only material bill they intended to get passed this session, in order to secure the people of England from falling a prey to popery, and arbitrary power : that it was necessary the military and civil power too should be lodged in other hands, and that the present officers of both should be called to an account and changed : whence the king being told, that if he quitted his brother, it would be but an immediate step taken to ruin all his friends and servants, and to become himself exposed to the will and wishes of those, whom he had no reason to think were over and above affected to him, the king dreaded the consequences, and resolved accordingly.

Being at the king's couchée on the 20th of April, as I was three times in one week ; his discourse ran generally upon the impossibility of any thing like the popish plot, and the contradictions of which it was made up : that he intended Fitzharris should come upon his trial immediately : that in all affairs, relating to himself, the laws should have their regular course ; and that, whatever his own private opinion might be, he would govern by them, and by them only : a happiness indeed it was for his people, to live under so good and so gracious a prince ! and now we begin to have a prospect of halcyon days again ; for his majesty having, since the last parliament was dissolved, issued out a declaration fraught with the fairest promises to his people, and assuring them of his firm intentions to govern inviolably according to law, and the like ; it had so happy an effect, that he received the thanks of the city of London, by the lord mayor, and of several counties and corporations in England.

In the interim, (May 4) Fitzharris is arraigned at the King's-bench bar, where by his council he refused to plead ; because he stood in parliament impeached for the crimes he there was to be indicted for ; though the impeachment specified no particular treasons, which the indictment did. The council for the king said, his plea was evasive, it not appearing whether the same crimes were intended by the one, as by the other.

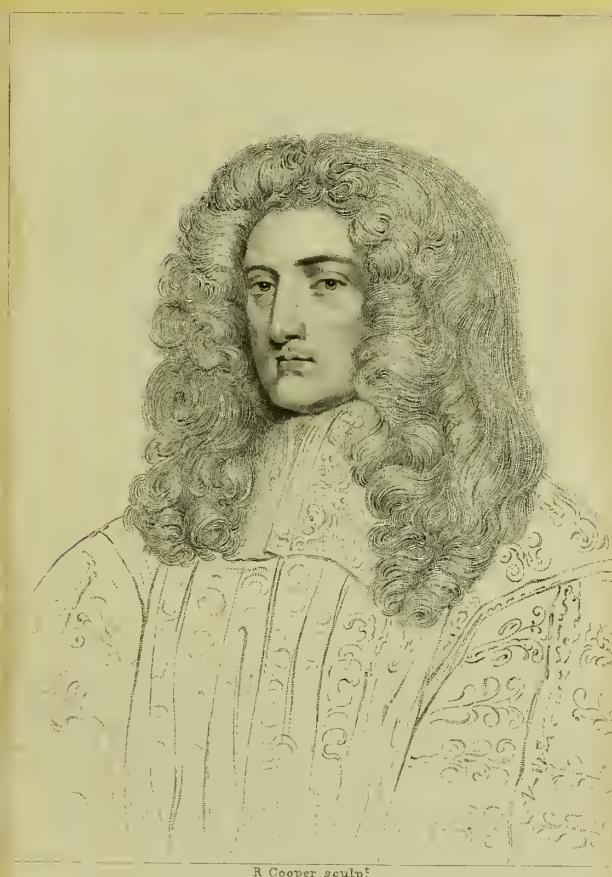
This point was argued at the bar on the 9th, but the case being quite extraordinary, both in its own nature, as well as because of the severe vote of the commons at Oxford, the judges took time to consider of it, but two days afterwards pronounced judgment for the

king ; and in the end, Fitzharris received sentence of death, for his treason, and was executed accordingly.

On the 7th of July, my Lord Shaftsbury, and Lord Howard, were sent prisoners to the tower ; and my Lord Hallifax told me, there would be enough produced against them to hang them both. A short time afterwards, I was, by my Lord Hallifax, presented to the king, in the closet, to take my leave of him, being speedily to set out for Yorkshire : his lordship, who was now become absolute favourite, presented me to his majesty, and spoke to him very kindly of me, and particularly desired him to confirm to me the promise he had some time ago made to his lordship, that I should succeed in the government of York ; his majesty did it very willingly, without the least hesitation, and gave me his hand to kiss upon the same ; saying, he was convinced how well I deserved of him.

On the 12th of October, I returned again to London, and the next day my Lord Hallifax told me, that Lord Shaftsbury had written to the king, that if he would be pleased to free him from his confinement, he would engage to go to Carolina, never more to return into England ; but that the king had rejected his request, and determined to leave him to the law. He also told me, that were it not for the interest the king of France had here, he did not doubt but he should be able to put England into a very happy state and condition in a very short time. That there was no hopes of doing any thing by way of parliament, except his majesty should make some new attempt upon Flanders, and that such an incident might be made use of as a handle whereby to reconcile all differences.

Such an opportunity offered itself soon after, that



R. Cooper sculpt.

ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER.

Earl of Shaftesbury

From an Original Picture in the Collection of the Duke of Dorset at Knowle

H. R. Cook, engr.

A VIEW OF S^T. JAMES'S PALACE and WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

2. from the village of Charing.

Stellar delin.



news came the French king had taken Strasburgh ; whereby becoming master of the Rhine, he might intercept all communication and commerce between the Low Countries and Germany ; so that the Netherlands would be absolutely obliged to bend the knee to France, if we did not enter into a league with them against the common adversary, which they did most earnestly solicit. But our king could lend them no helping hand, without a parliament to supply him with money ; and what distress his majesty laboured under as to that was sufficiently understood, particularly by France, who determined not to slip the advantage ; so that what my Lord Hallifax expected, from such an occurrence, proved to be all a delusion.

On the evening of the 20th of this month, his majesty talked to me a great while, in St. James's Park, and at the Duchess of Portsmouth's ; his discourse ran chiefly upon the late unequal verdicts and proceedings of the juries of London and Middlesex ; concerning which he broke out into this expression, “ it is a hard “ case that I am the last man to have law and justice “ in the whole nation.”

His majesty went to see a new ship launched at Deptford : he went in his barge, and I waited on him to the water side, he saw me, and called me in. The gentleman who was appointed to the command of her, gave a great dinner to the king, where his majesty commanded all the gentlemen to sit down at the same table. He was more than usually serious that day, and seemingly under a greater weight of thought, than had been observed of him on account of the most important business.

On the 4th of November, I went to pay a visit to

Lord Danby, still a prisoner in the Tower: who, by the drift of his discourse, was not in charity with the then ministers, seemingly reflecting on them as too favourable inclined towards Lord Shaftsbury, and so on. Two days afterwards I acquainted my Lord Hallifax with this; to which his answer was, that people were mighty ready with their judgments and decisions; but that if the fact were even as suggested, what could the king do better than set him at liberty? that he had as good be enlarged upon terms, as by a jury which would most assuredly acquit him were he brought to a trial, though ever so deep in guilt; and that were he out, he could not do the king so much harm, as such an act of mercy and popularity would do him good. The same day, one of the under secretaries told me, the king was resolved to prosecute him to the utmost, and that there was no want of very sufficient matter against him.

But before we come to the issue of such his majesty's resolution, it may not be amiss to observe by the way, that my Lord Hallifax, being by no means a friend to France, was upon no good footing with the Duchess of Portsmouth; which gave the king some trouble, as it proved a hindrance to the currency of his affairs; wherefore he sought to reconcile them, which he did, outwardly, on the 20th; as for a thorough and hearty resolution, it was impossible, their views being in such direct opposition to each other as they were.

On the 23d, pursuant to the king's resolution that Lord Shaftsbury should take his trial, a commission of Oyer and Terminer was issued out for that purpose, and the most capital articles of his accusation having been committed in London, the jury was there return-

ed for the finding of the bill, and though a paper was produced, containing no less than matter of high treason, which was sworn to have been found among the papers, in his closet, by a secretary of state, yet such were the times, that the grand jury brought in their verdict—*ignoramus*.

On the 28th, in consequence of this, he was enlarged, but because the rabble in the city had lighted bonfires on the day the jury acquitted him, the justices of London and Middlesex had now strict orders to prevent the like tumultuous doings. Now there were those who, considering how nearly Lord Hallifax was related to Shaftsbury, imagined his lordship was not grieved that the latter was no longer a prisoner; and indeed what made me, among others, bend a little this way, was that waiting on his lordship a little early, I found one of my lord Shaftsbury's gentlemen with him. But his lordship denied it all very seriously to me, and said he would ere long convince the world of their mistake.

It being customary with the king, when he returned from his walk before dinner, to discourse the foreign ministers, who usually attend to meet him in the anti-chamber, he did it next day on the subject of the hard measure dealt to him by Lord Shaftsbury's jury; and it fell to my lot to explain several things in French relating to the matter in hand. A few days afterwards, (Dec. 4,) his majesty declared his displeasure against the Duke of Monmouth, upon several accounts, but especially for not having offered to be bail for Shaftsbury. The next day he made the Duke of Richmond his master of the horse, and gave one of the regiments of foot guards to the Duke of Grafton. And on the 7th, the king, to comply with the nature of the times,

for it was shrewdly suspected he was not in earnest, sent for the justices of Middlesex to appear before him in council, where he gave them a severe reprimand, for that they were so remiss in their inquiry after the number of papists, and so backward to prosecute them. He spoke not himself, but did it by the lord chancellor, and ordered them to be more vigilant, mindful, and active for the time to come.

The same day, having been to visit the Duchess of Portsmouth, my Lord Hallifax took me home with him from Whitehall. On the way, I acquainted him that the general report was, that his lordship opposed the Duke of York's interest with the king, and his return from Scotland, which his highness most urgently pressed. His reply was, that it was well if the duke's overhastiness did not turn to his disadvantage ; that his highness had a sort of hungry servants about him, who were eternally pressing for his return, nor would ever let him be at rest, till, with a view to their own interest, they put their master upon what might prove much to their prejudice. And true it is, that whilst his highness was near the king's person, every body believed his majesty to be principally swayed and actuated by his advice ; and consequently that popish councils were then uppermost ; whereas he did a great deal of good in Scotland, by keeping a watchful eye over that mutinous kingdom. But the papists, and others, his highnesses creatures, pretended he was kept in Scotland that his enemies might the more easily work him out of his brother's good opinion ; and that the ministers might have the king all to themselves, and guide him according to their own will and pleasure. Upon this Lord Hallifax observed there was great partiality

in the judgment of men ; for that in common justice they ought to take as much notice of things that were managed for the duke's advantage, as of what seemed to be otherwise : that, for instance, no body had commended the ministers for getting the Duke of Richmond to be master of the horse in preference to the Duke of Monmouth ; though it must prove a great obstacle to his return to the king's person, and though most evident it was that no greater service could be done to his highness, than to keep the Duke of Monmouth from court.

About this time I had a view of going envoy to Denmark, but to wave that, on the 4th of January, 1681-2, I carried a gentleman, one Mr. Grant, a leader of the fanatic party, to wait on my Lord Halifax. He acquainted his lordship with the double dealings of some great men at court against him, who had been particularly instrumental in exasperating the commons against him in the late parliaments ; which my lord took as a piece of service done, as it would put him upon his guard against the same men for the future. At the same time I conducted a gentleman to my lord, to ask his pardon for some things he had been reported to have said against his lordship. In good policy, we ought to suffer no man to be our enemy, if we can possibly avoid it ; but such was his lordship's natural disposition, that, in the whole course of my life, I never knew a man more ready, at all times, to forgive, and shall never forget his expression upon this occasion, “ Sir, if you did not say the words I am very glad of it, and even if you did, I am glad you find cause to be of another mind.” In a private conversation I, at the same time, had with his lordship, he

told me, that the people about the Duke of York made him mad ; that there was scarce one of them that had a grain of sense ; and intimated that a parliament could not be far off.

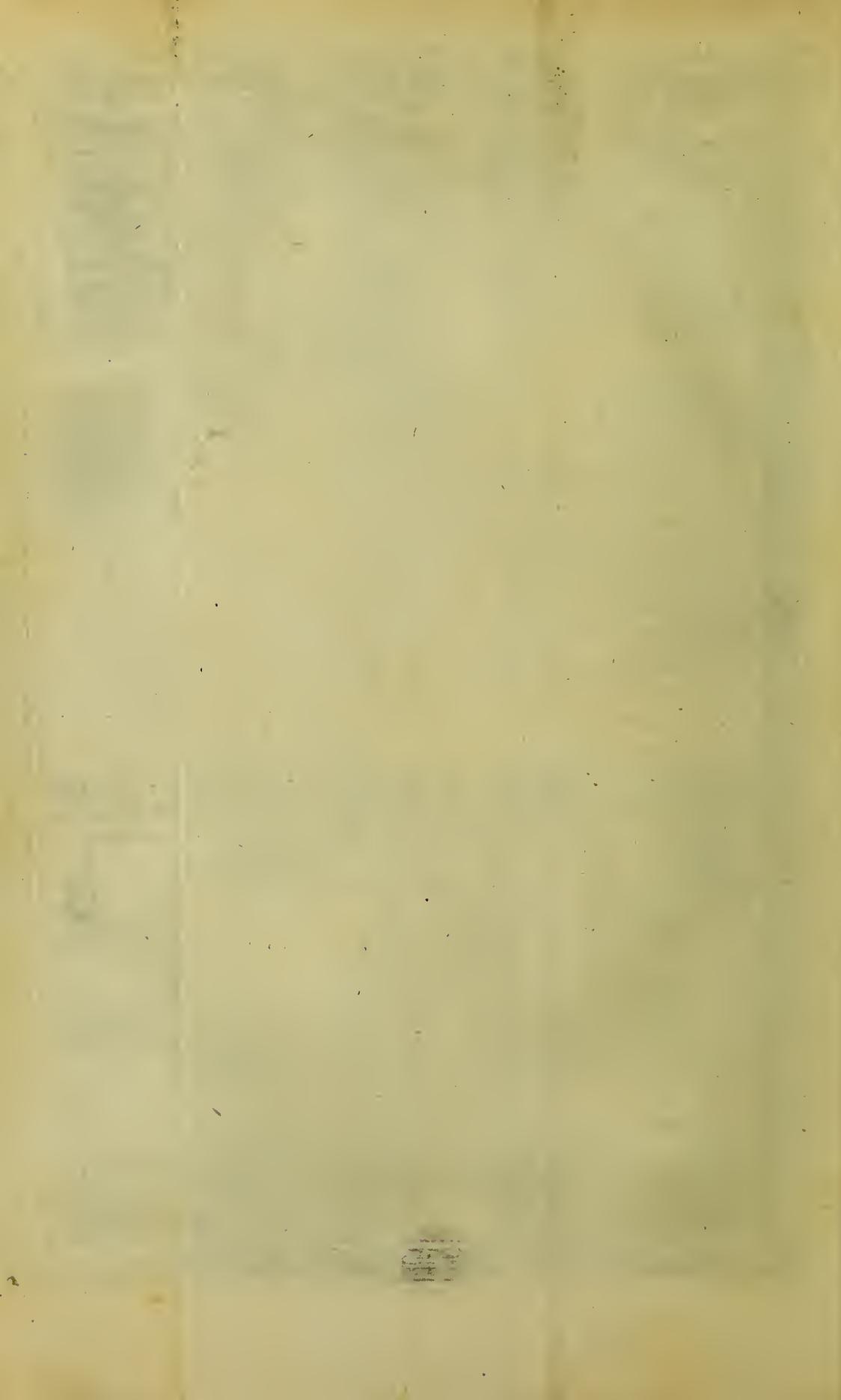
The next day I went to see Lord Danby in the Tower ; he told me Lord Sunderland was ever railing at Lord Hallifax, though his brother-in-law ; and observing him to express some satisfaction thereat, I presumed to remonstrate to him, that being a friend to both, I could wish, now that he was a prisoner, he would forget all occasion of animosity against a gentleman in such high power, as my Lord Hallifax ; for that when a parliament should be called, his lordship might stand in need of his assistance, and the good offices of his friends.

On the 11th of this month, the king gave audience to an ambassador from Morocco, who was admitted with more than ordinary form, the king being of opinion that a commerce established between that empire and his kingdom, might prove of considerable profit to us, especially as we had so opportune a place on that continent as Tangiers. The ambassador's present to the king consisted of two lions, and thirty ostriches, at which his majesty laughed, and said, " he knew nothing more proper to send by way of return than a flock of geese."

On the 22d, I happened to dine with Lord Lumley, at Lord Feversham's, when the former declared he had speedy intentions of resigning his post of master of the horse to the queen, which he had hitherto enjoyed independently of the master of the horse to the king. But it seems the Duchess of Portsmouth had prevailed with the king to alter his patent, and to make him an

La Ville
D'ANVERS;
en Brabant.





officer under the Duke of Richmond, contrary to his promise. The duchess was certainly sometimes to blame, in things of this nature; for to display her power with the king, which indeed was great, and to express her friendship to some, she would often persuade the king to break his engagements with others, which was not for his honour. And yet his majesty was not, at this time, thought to be charmed with her bed, it being generally believed he had not lain with her, since he was at Newmarket, at least four months before. I also heard, this day, that one of the three ministers was endeavouring at a reconciliation with a great man who was no friend to my Lord Hallifax; and immediately warning his lordship thereof, he thanked me, and told me the information would be of good use to him.

On the 28th, we had advice that infinite damage had been done to Ostend, Antwerp, and the circum-adjacencies, by the most dreadful inundation that had ever been known. That Holland had suffered most prodigiously by the flood, that the greatest part of Zealand was under water, and that several towns and villages had been swept away with all their inhabitants, and that, according to computation, it would require an expence of ten millions sterling to make good the loss. The levels also in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire were laid under water by the same fate; the incessant rains of this season having been the cause thereof.

And now the great point in expectation was, whether there would be a parliament called or not, the ministers of state being divided as to the thing. My Lord Hallifax argued, that all christendom was desirous of it, France only excepted, and that nothing

could be offered to discountenance it at home, but the fear they might touch upon high points, which if they did, his majesty might dismiss or dissolve them, just as he pleased, and convince the world that it was their fault and not his, and evince that he endeavoured to give his people satisfaction by the means of frequent parliaments. That if the king and the parliament agreed, his majesty would thereby gain the grand points of being united at home, and formidable abroad. But some, as Seymour and Hyde, were against the motion, more for their own sakes, than any body's else.

On the 12th of February was perpetrated the most barbarous and audacious murder that almost ever had been heard of in England. Mr. Thynn, a gentleman of 9000*l.* per annum, and lately married to Lady Ogle, who repenting herself of the match, fled from him into Holland before they were bedded, was set upon by three ruffians, who shot him as he was going along the street in his coach. This unhappy gentleman being much engaged in the Duke of Monmouth's cause, it was feared that party might put some violent construction on this accident, the actors therein making their escape just for the time, and being unknown. I happened to be at court that evening, when the king hearing the news, seemed greatly concerned at it, not only for the horror of the action itself, which was shocking to his natural disposition, but also for fear the turn the anticourt party might give thereto. I left the court, and was just stepping into bed, when Mr. Thynn's gentleman came to me to grant him an hue and cry, and immediately at his heels comes the Duke of Montague's page, to desire me to

come to him at Mr. Thynn's lodging, sending his coach for me, which I made use of accordingly. I there found his grace surrounded with several lords and gentlemen, Mr. Thynn's friends, and Mr. Thynn himself mortally wounded with five shot from a blunderbuss. I on the spot granted several warrants against persons suspected to have had a hand therein, and that night got some intelligence concerning the actors themselves. At length, by the information of a chairman, who had carried one of the ruffians from his lodging at Westminster to the Black Bull, there to take horse, and by means of a loose woman, who used to visit the same person, the constables found out the place of his abode, and there took his man, by nation a Swede, who being brought before me, confessed himself a servant to a German captain, who had told him he had a quarrel with Mr. Thynn, and had often ordered him to watch his coach ; and that particularly that day the captain no sooner understood the coach to be gone by, than he booted himself, and with two others, a Swedish lieutenant and a Pole, went on horseback, as he supposed, the next day, in quest of Mr. Thynn. By the same servant, I also understood, where possibly the captain and his two companions were to be found ; and having with the Duke of Monmouth, Lord Mordaunt, and others, searched several houses, as he directed us, till six in the morning, and having been in close pursuit all night, I personally took the captain in the house of a Swedish doctor in Leicester Fields. I went first into his room, followed by Lord Mordaunt, where I found him in bed, with his sword at some distance from him on the table ; his weapon I in the first place secured, and then his per-

son, committing him to two constables. I wondered he should make so tame a submission, for he was certainly a man of great courage, and appeared quite unconcerned from the very beginning, though he was very certain he should be found the chief actor in the tragedy. This gentleman had, not long before, commanded the forlorn hope, at the siege at Mons when but two, besides himself, of fifty under his command, escaped with life; and, in consideration of this service, the Prince of Orange made him a lieutenant of his guards, and, in reward for the same, the King of Sweden gave him a troop of horse: but to insist no farther on this, his two accomplices also were taken, and brought to my house, where, before I could finish the several examinations I had to go through, the king sent for me to attend him in council, for that purpose, with the prisoners and papers. His majesty ordered me to give him an account of the proceedings hitherto, as well with regard to the apprehending of the prisoners, as their examination, and then examined them himself; and when the council rose, ordered me to put every thing into writing, and in form, against the trial; which took me up a great part of the day, though I had got one of the clerks of the council, and another justice of the peace to assist me, both for the sake of dispatch and my own security, the nicety of the affair requiring it, as will, in the sequel, appear.

On the 15th, the council met again, among other things, to examine the governor of young Count Cöningsmark, a young gentleman then in Mr. Foubert's academy in London, and supposed to be privy to the murder. Upon this occasion, the king sent for me, to attend in council, where the said governor confessing,



Painted by Kneller

Algernon Percy, Earl of Northumberland

Engraved by Thomas Drayg.

London, 1781. The Author's Edition. December, 1781.

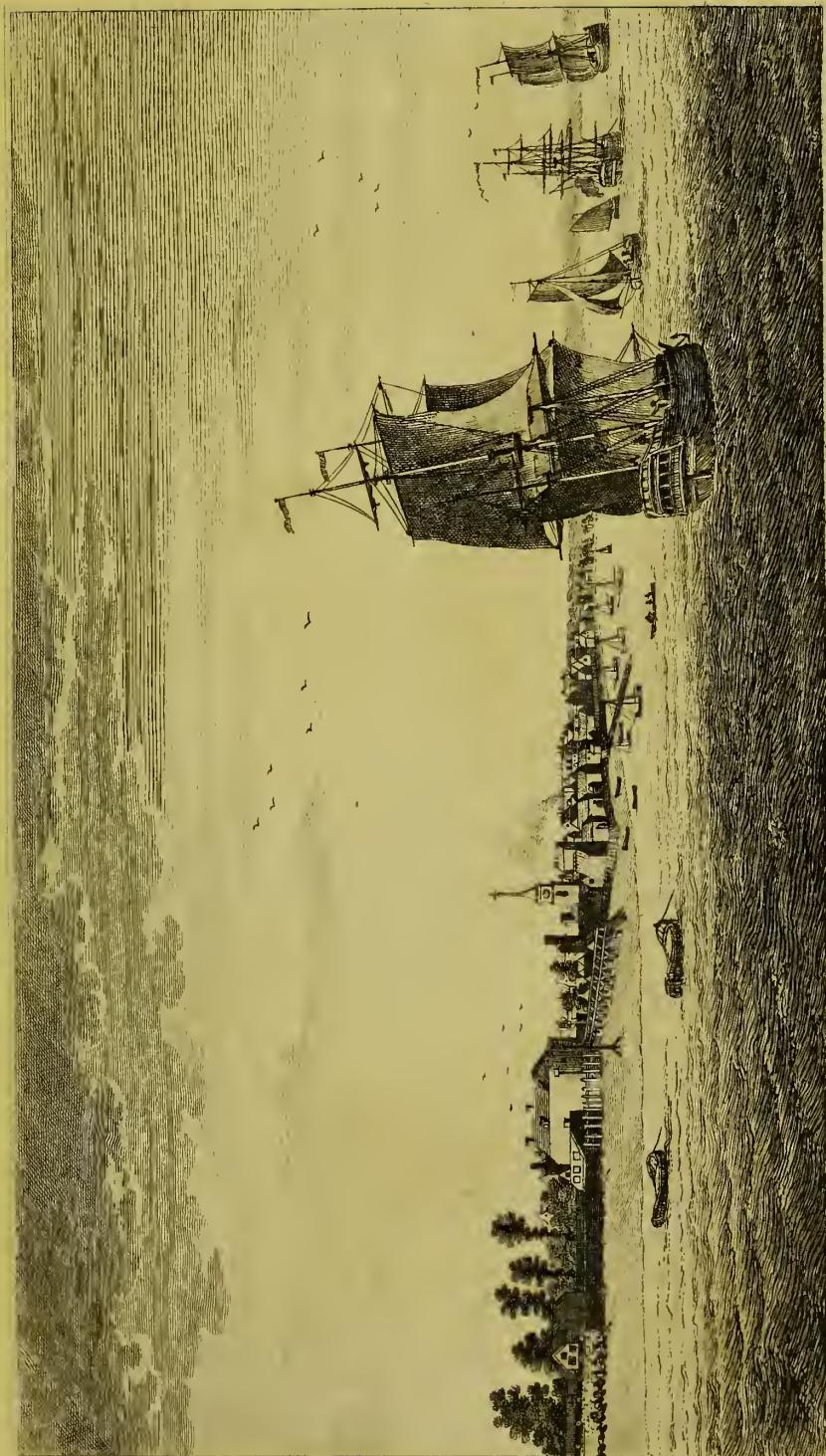


that the eldest Count Coningsmark, who had been in England some months before, and made his addresses to the lady who so unfortunately married Mr. Thynn, arrived incognito ten days before the said murder, and lay disguised till it was committed, gave great cause to suspect that the count was at the bottom of this bloody affair ; and his majesty ordered me thereupon to go and search his lodgings, which I did with two constables, but the bird was flown ; he went away betimes in the morning of the day after the deed was perpetrated ; of which I immediately gave the king an account.

I several times afterwards attended on the king, both in private and in council, from time to time, to give him information, as fresh matter occurred, or appeared ; and upon the whole it was discovered, partly by the confession of the parties concerned, and partly by the information of others, that the German captain had been for eight years an intimate with Count Coningsmark, one of the greatest men in the kingdom of Sweden, his uncle being at that time governor of Pomerania, and near upon marrying the king's aunt ; and moreover that during the time he was in England before, he had made his addresses to Lady Ogle, the only daughter and heiress of the Earl of Northumberland, who had been married to the deceased Mr. Thynn, and that the said count had resented something as an affront from Mr. Thynn : that the captain moved thereto out of pure friendship to the count, though not at all with his privity, as pretended, had determined within himself to revenge his cause, and that in consequence of such his resolution the murder happened : it appeared also, that such his cruel design

was furthered by the assistance of the Swedish lieutenant, and the Pole who had been by him obliged to discharge the blunderbuss into the coach. I was extremely glad that in this whole business there was no English person directly or indirectly concerned; for the fanatics had buzzed it about that the design was chiefly against the Duke of Monmouth; so that I had the king's thanks more than once, the thanks of my Lord Hallifax, and several others, for my diligence in tracing out the true springs and motives of this horrid action, as well as the actors themselves. The Duke of Monmouth had been out of the coach above an hour, and, by the confession of the criminals, I found they were not to have made the attempt if his grace had been with Mr. Thynn.

Mean while it was suspected that Count Coningsmark was still in the kingdom; and search being made after him, he was met with alone in disguise at Gravesend, by a servant of the Duke of Monmouth's, just as he was stepping out of a sculler, intending the very next day to embark on board of a Swedish ship. Being brought up to town, the king immediately called an extraordinary council to examine him. I was present upon this occasion, and observed that he appeared before the king with all the assurance imaginable. He was a fine person of a man, and I think his hair was the longest I ever saw. He was very quick of parts, but his examination was very superficial, for which reason he was by the king and council ordered to be, the same day, examined by the lord chief justice, the attorney general, and myself, but he confessed nothing of the murder, pretending the reason why he lay at this time concealed, to be that he was then under cure for a



A view of Gravesend in the County of Kent.

small venereal disaster, and did not care to appear in public, till the course of his prescription was over ; and that his going away in disguise after the fact was committed, was by the advice of friends, who told him it would reflect on him should it be known he was in England, when an intimate of his laboured under so violent a suspicion of having committed so black a deed ; and that he endeavoured to make his escape, not knowing how far the laws of this land might for that very reason involve him in the guilt. But being at the king's couchée on the 21st, I perceived by his majesty's discourse, that he was willing the count should get off.

On the 26th, Mons. Foubert who kept the academy in London, came and desired me to put him in a way how to save Count Coningsmark's life, insinuating to me, that as he was a man of vast fortune, he could not make a better use of it than to support his own innocence, and shield himself from the edge of the law, in a strange country. I told him, that if the count was really innocent, the law would naturally acquit him, as much though a foreigner as if he was a native ; but that he ought to be cautious how he made any offers to pervert justice ; for that it were to make all men of honour his enemies, instead of gaining them to be his friends. This was one of the first bribes of value ever offered to me, which I might have accepted without any danger of discovery, and without doing much for it ; but my opinion has always been that what is so acquired is no addition to our store, but rather the cause of its waste, according to the saying, *Male parta male delabuntur* ; I therefore rejected this now as I had done others before, and as I hope I shall always do for the time to come.

Bills being found at Hick's Hall against the three murderers of Mr. Thynn, as principal, and against the count as accessory; they the next day made their appearance at the Old Bailey, where, after a trial which lasted from nine in the morning till five in the afternoon, and a very vigorous prosecution on the part of Mr. Thynn's relations, the three were brought in guilty as principals, and the count by the same jury acquitted as not accessory; it being *per medietatem linguae*, according to the privilege of strangers. I was the first that carried the news of this to the king, who seemed to be not at all displeased at it; but the duke of Monmouth's party, who all appeared to add weight to the prosecution, were extremely dissatisfied that the count had so escaped.

On the 10th of March, the captain, and the other two, his accomplices in the murder of Mr. Thynn, were, pursuant to their sentence, hanged in the street where they had perpetrated the crime. The captain died without any the least symptom of fear, or offering at the least glance of reflection on Count Coningsmark; and seeing me in my coach as he passed by in the cart, he made a bow to me with the most steady countenance, as he did to several of the spectators he knew, before he was turned off; in short, his whole carriage, from the first moment he was apprehended, to the last that he resigned his breath, savoured much of gallantry, but not at all of religion.

Having thus concluded the history of this remarkable transaction, I shall only, by the way, observe that I was soon after appointed governor of York, in opposition to a strong and potent interest against me. On the 9th of May, I had a very long conversation with my

good friend the Earl of Hallifax, who continued steady for a parliament; and expressed himself of opinion, that the duke had gained no great ascendant over the king, by his late journey into England, from whence he was now upon his return to Scotland; a journey quite disagreeable even to the king's own friends; and indeed he was chiefly persuaded to it by his servants, who gained by his being here.

The next day came news, that his highness had been in great danger of being cast away in his voyage back to the north, the ship he was in having struck upon Yarmouth sands, and that a great number of the passengers had been lost, a piece of news that was at first contradicted, but in a day or two confirmed by a particular account, that the Gloucester, a third rate, in which the Duke of York had embarked for Scotland, had actually suffered shipwreck upon one of Yarmouth sands, called the Lemon and Oar; and that the duke, with about an 160 persons were saved: among those that perished were the Lords O'Brian, and Roxborough, and Mr. Hyde, Lord Clarendon's brother.

Waiting on my Lord Hallifax, on the 22d of this month, he told me that the day before, being Sunday, the Duke of Monmouth came to him after prayers, and asked him if it was true that his lordship, as was reported, had advised the king in council, to issue out a proclamation to forbid every body from keeping him company: and that he had answered, that he was not obliged to satisfy him, whether he had so advised his majesty or not; and that the duke replied there would be no need of a proclamation to prevent him from keeping his lordship company, and that in another

place he would have said more to him, and so went away.

It must be by all confessed that his grace in this acted a very imprudent part, for he must needs have known that his thus questioning a privy councillor concerning advice given by him at the board, would sound very harsh to the king: and, on the other hand, if his intentions were really for a quarrel, he might have chosen a more proper place, and have said more, or nothing at all. I offered to serve his lordship with my life upon this occasion; but he was so very good as to say, that if it came to a necessity of that sort, he would make use of somebody he did not esteem so much as he did me; but that, however, he did not think himself obliged to fight upon that account; though he should ever be ready to defend himself while he wore a sword by his side.

The next day a council was held at Hampton Court, where, as soon as it was up, his lordship told me an order had been passed to this effect, “that “whereas the Duke of Monmouth had been guilty of “some threatening speeches to a member of that “board, in relation to something offered to his ma-“jesty in council; his majesty considered the same as “an unmannerly insolence towards himself; and did “therefore charge all his servants, and all such as had “dependence on him, not to keep company with, or “frequent the said Duke of Monmouth for the time “to come.”

I had a conference with my Lord Hallifax on the 3d of June, wherein I observed to him, that he was too frank and open with some in business with him, and with others, who were well in the king’s favour, and

that they generally betrayed him: and desired him to keep himself more to himself if possible. He told me he was very sensible of the truth and importance of what I said, but continued, that he could not avoid the freedom I condemned in the course of business, and hoped his integrity would support him. At this time he gave me directions how to behave in the north, but they were such as in common political prudence must be here suppressed.

And now I retired to my government of York, where, though many transactions were pretty remarkable, they are of too private and particular a nature to be here enumerated; I shall therefore only observe, that the city of York had been more noted than most places in England, for the height and virulence of faction, but that after I had been there some time, finding some of the leaders willing to abate of their warmth, I engaged myself in some private discourse with Mr. Alderman Ramsden, one of the most extraordinary of the whole fraternity, and so well explained to him the danger they were in, if they did not shew some speedy signs of remorse and repentance for their former behaviour, that he confessed himself sensible of errors committed upon several occasions, (viz.) in that they had so often persisted in their choice of such members as they knew to be quite ungrateful to the king; in that they had so handsomely received the Duke of York when he passed through their city, in his way to Scotland; and in that they had petitioned for a parliament, but never addressed or abhorred: but that after all he was afraid their offences were too enormous to be pardoned, upon a consideration less than the surrender of their charter, which they did not know how

to think of. I then asked him what he thought the city might be persuaded to do by way of some atonement: to which he answered, they might be brought to do three things, if they might be accepted. First, to lay aside Alderman Thompson, a peevish antimонаrchial fellow, to whom it fell of course to be lord mayor the next year, provided his majesty would, by letter, command them so to do. Secondly, to chuse a new high steward, and to offer the honour to his royal highness, in lieu of the Duke of Buckingham, whom they would put out, or in case his highness should refuse it, to his Lordship of Hallifax; and thirdly, to elect better members for that city, when occasion should offer. These three things, he said, were feasible, might they be thought sufficient.

I immediately gave notice of this our conversation to my lord, now Marquis of Hallifax, who, on the 22d of August, sent me for answer, that though he approved of the setting aside of Thompson from being lord mayor, he could by no means think it safe to venture the king's letter upon it, to the corporation, except the success of the attempt were actually certain; and especially as things were in so very fair a way above, particularly with regard to the *quo warranto* against the city charter, which, if it succeeded, every other corporation would be obliged to truckle; and that should the king's letter meet with the proposed effect, it would rebound back again upon the court, and be an encouragement to the other party. That as for their chusing his highness to be their high steward, he judged it improper and unfit upon many accounts; and as for himself, he was willing to put himself upon the issue of what they proposed, provided it did not

seem to be his own request, and that it should appear he had a considerable number of friends and well-wishers therein, though the event itself should not answer: such was the substance of what he returned.

On the 10th of January, 1682, his lordship advised me to come to London, where he had some things to tell me, which it would be more proper to communicate near at hand, than at such a distance. In consequence of which I repaired to our capital the month following, where being arrived, his lordship was pleased to acquaint me with the whole of a late dispute he had had with my Lord Hyde, now Earl of Rochester, and first lord commissioner of the treasury. His lordship had informed the king of 40,000*l.* of his hearth-money, which had been misapplied to some private use or uses Lord Rochester could not but know of, and was much suspected to share in; together with some miscarriages and mismanagement of the revenue, which, it seems, nobody but his lordship had the courage to expose to the king. He told me also he had lately brought in Lord Sunderland to be secretary of state, by engaging the Duke of York in his behalf; and that now his highness seemed to be kinder to that lord, who had laboured all he could against him in the late parliaments, than to himself, who had done all he could to serve him, and who had particularly made the most considerable head against the bill of exclusion; and touched upon some hard returns and disappointments of the same kind, from the same quarter. But still his lordship was well with the king, it was in no degree in their power to remove him, though they combined their whole strength to effect it: and indeed I had reason to know how large an influence he had over his

majesty ; for to him it was wholly owing that I sat still in my government of York.

A few days afterwards, his lordship told me of some hard usage he had met with from Lord Rochester, contrary to their mutual engagements, in favour of each other, upon his first entering into business ; and that having obtained a promise to be lord president, or lord privy seal, as a vacancy of either should first fall out, which happened to be of the seal, Lord Rochester had behind the curtain done all in his power for Mr. Seymour ; that upon this occasion he had been raised to the dignity of marquis, which he had never desired, with a view to make him amends for the seal ; but that not declining the one or the other he had obtained both ; and that thereupon Seymour had left the court. That however, the king commanding it, he was willing to be upon good terms with his lordship, but that he must give him some sufficient assurance that he was more a friend to him than to Sunderland, ere he could repose any degree of confidence in him. That in the mean time he would keep in his corner, and be attentive to whatever might be for the king's service, and not be afraid to acquaint his majesty with what might be for his majesty's disadvantage, whoever were the actors or transactors ; and in fine, that when he had power, he should be careful to distinguish those who were his friends, from those who were not so.

Now the affair of the forty thousand pounds, said to have been lost to the king, upon his hearth-money, and charged upon Lord Rochester, and the other lords commissioners of the treasury, came to be argued by council on both sides, before the king ; and it plainly appeared that the king was actually so much a loser ;

but such was the interest that Lord Rochester, supported as he was by the Duke of York, Duchess of Portsmouth, and Lord Sunderland, had with his majesty, that little or no notice of the fraud was taken at that time: except of some of that lord's friends having taken the liberty to censure Lord Hallifax, as too busy in making the discovery, the king justified him so far as to say openly that day, in court, upon the trial, that his lordship had done nothing in the whole affair, but by his order and approbation. My Lord Hallifax told me this was not the only matter that would appear, as to the ill management of the royal revenue, and observed that the anticourt party courted him at such a rate, that he feared it might create a jealousy elsewhere.

A few days afterwards his lordship told me the duke made it his business to clear himself from having had any concern on either side, for the fraud on the one hand, and the discovery on the other, were the general talk of the town, but that his highness should apply to him, before he would apply to his highness. He told me also, that he had, the day before, been with the king, and that he was two hours in private with him; and that he had observed to his majesty, that a report was spread as if Lord Rochester was to have the lord high treasurer's staff delivered to him; but that he was in hopes there was no such intention, for that it would be a great reflection upon himself, and look as if his majesty thought he had done wrong to the man whom he immediately so favoured; and that his majesty should say, "the man should not be lord treasurer the sooner for what he had lately done as Lord Rochester; and

that his majesty was angry with him for giving ear to so groundless a rumour.

On the 28th of February, Lord Hallifax told me the duke had assured him, he was not in the least concerned in the difference between him and Lord Rochester ; and that he had replied, he was sure his highness could wish him no ill, and that if he did, he should never do any thing to oppose him, but that in such a case he should not be able to serve him with that zeal he could wish, and that his highness might possibly repent he had lost his service to the degree he desired to use it for him : that he had done no more than he had been by the king commanded to do, and that there was no man in the kingdom so great that he could be decently displeased with what was done at the king's command ; that he perceived they, meaning Rochester, had a mind to rid their hands of him, and that it was likely they might endeavour to make him uneasy in his station, but that he would take care they should not remove him, first, because he would stay with the king to be ready to serve him, and secondly, because he had a mind to disappoint those who so earnestly longed for his absence : that his whole view had been to save the king money, and that he knew no greater service that could be done to his highness, if he would but be pleased to look a little before him into futurity : that the king indeed had made him a greater man than he deserved to be, but that he had this to say for himself, he was a gentleman, and that his highness ought in justice to have some consideration for those that bore escutcheons, as well as for those that had none ; some of the duke's creatures were scarce gentlemen ;

and that for his part he should never say any thing to his highness but truth, which though, at first sight, it might look a little plain and homely, nothing at the bottom carried with it a greater fund of respect, and much more to the same effect. That to this his highness made answer, that what his lordship had said seemed to be very rational, that he was sensible of great obligations he had to him, and that he never would forget them, but serve him in all he was able, and that so his lordship should find.

His lordship also told me, the same day, that he had been with my Lady Duchess of Portsmouth, and that, among other discourse, he told her, he found that in case he should stand in need of his majesty's favour, he was not to expect many friends on that side of Whitehall ; and that she made answer, that some who had been very much his friends, meaning Rochester, came thither sometimes, and that she hoped they would be as much his friends again : that to this he replied, he was in much doubt as to her intercession, and good offices, in such a strait, but hoped he should avoid the danger of making use thereof; and took notice that she thereupon blushed, and seemed to be in some confusion. His lordship further said, that were he quite as young as he had been, he might be as well with her as others ; but upon this I observed, that his lordship ought to have been furnished with a good purse as well as something else that began with the same letter ; for so, report said, Lord Danby kept intelligence so long and so great with her.

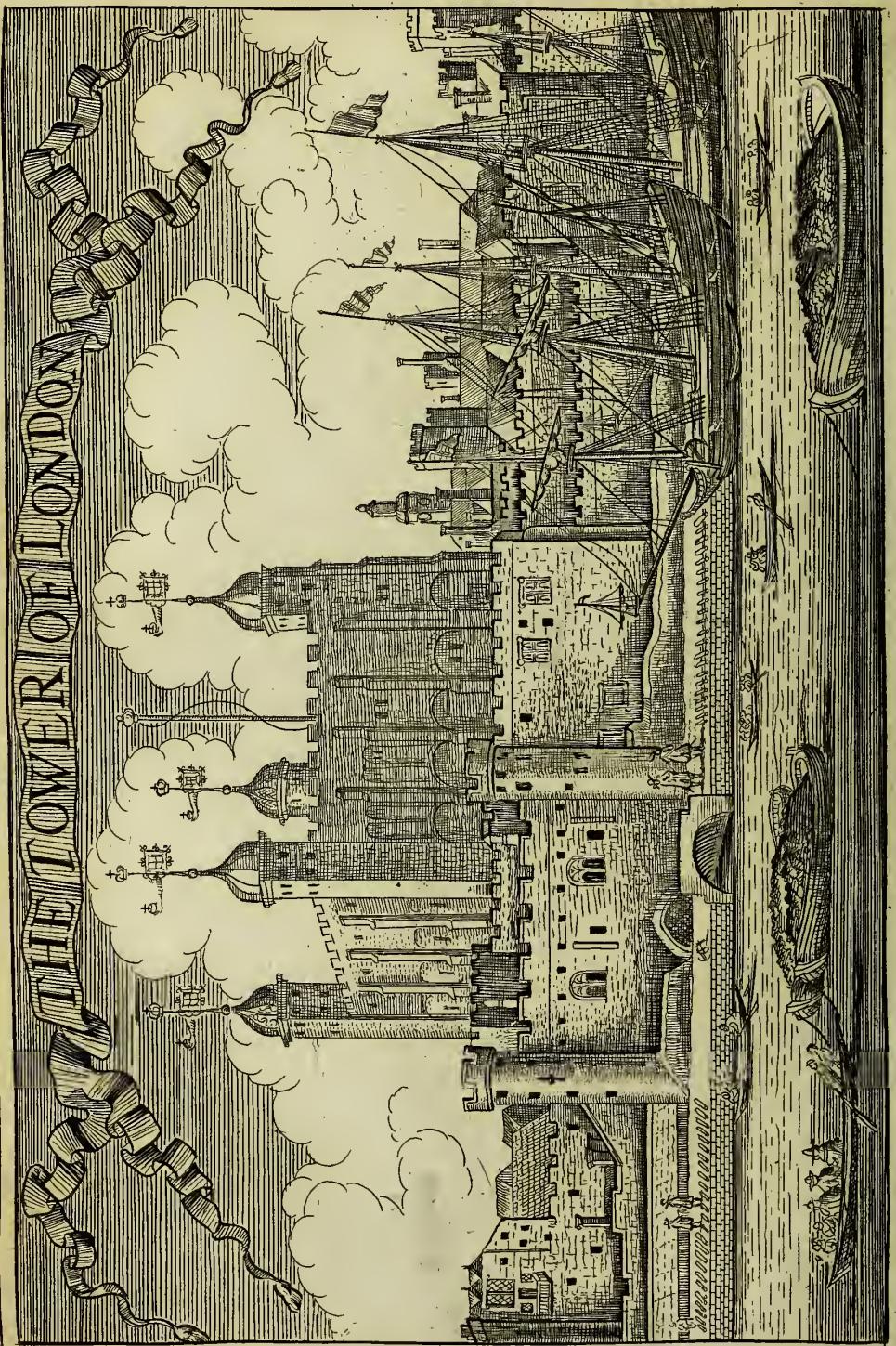
The court and the whole town were infinitely divided as to the dispute between the two lords. Those who had any dependance on payments out of the

exchequer, durst not but be on the side of Lord Rochester: but all sober and serious persons, who were independent, and wished well to the government, applauded the integrity, the zeal, and the courage, of the lord privy seal, who would not see so great a sum of the king's money misapplied, and was so honestly bold as to complain, though he was sure he should thereby raise a number of violent enemies against him; and particularly the whigs, as they now called the anticourt party, were lavish of their commendations, not only on account of the discovery, but in hopes this great man might, by this quarrel, be brought to a cooler degree of moderation.

In the midst of this, on the 20th of March, all christendom seemed to be in danger of being involved in a bloody war, the rebels of Hungary having called in the Turk to assist them against the emperor, and one or two excepted, all the princes of the empire, and the kings of Spain and Sweden, preparing to defend the empire against the Turk on the one hand, and the French king, likely to fall upon Flanders, or some of the princes of Germany, on the other: while we sat at ease amidst the blessings and plenty of a peace, which it was thought would be lasting, because of the death of the busy and factious Shaftsbury, not long before retired into Holland.

Going with my lord privy seal, to take the air, in Hyde Park, he told me he hoped I was sorry he pressed me to come up to London, seeing I could not so well have been made acquainted with the state of affairs at such a distance as York: that it was uncertain how long he should be able to keep his station, driven at so fiercely as he was by some, but that he imagined he had

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the king to his friend, and could not conceive he would part with him for no other fault than the having obeyed his commands ; but says he if we fall again under the influence of French councils, I shall fairly quit, there being greater endeavours against me on the other side of the water, than on this ; and desired me when I got into the country again, to turn the report of his disgrace into raillery, till he should give me notice of his retreat, which he would early do, if he found it unavoidable.

Two days afterwards, I went to see Lord Danby in the Tower, and found him to express himself much more obligingly towards lord privy seal, than he had been used to do heretofore ; among other things, he said his lordship had taken a prudent and becoming course in declaring himself for a parliament, and that he was very glad of it upon a private account ; for that he despaired of being enlarged till there was a sitting. He said, Lord Rochester and his party might support themselves for a while, but that the interest they built upon was no better than a sandy foundation.

The next day I communicated this to Lord Hallifax, who on his part seemed also to be more favourably inclined towards Lord Danby, than he had for some time been : he said he had already enemies enough, and that what he had to say against that lord was now out of his mind ; but that however he would not now make himself enemies by being his friend, as he had formerly done by being otherwise ; so that I found lord privy seal was making up his interest on the one hand, as Lord Rochester was on the other, for the latter had sent for Seymour to court, and promised to be his

friend. Lord Privy Seal told me that Seymour had made some advances to close with him, and that a general reconciliation was endeavouring on the part of Rochester's friends. I told his lordship, that, in my poor opinion, he had much better stand by himself, now that he had possessed himself of the interest of the nation, by the means of what he had done, in opposition to Lord Rochester; that if he closed in with that side again, he might run the hazard of losing the good opinion of his country, which he now so deservedly enjoyed, whereas if he kept himself separate, he might be master of both the one and the other; and that in case he should fall, the king would soon be sensible of such a want of him, that he could not long be spared from court. To this his lordship replied, it would be matter of great difficulty for him to stay there with men, whose interest it was to remove him. That they would be apt to play him tricks, knowing that while he was in any play, their carriage and conduct would be no secrets to his majesty; but that if they did engross the king all to themselves they would not long keep their hold; for that the king had one quality which would always preserve him from being long in ill hands, meaning his facility to hear all persons, and to admit of all informations from a back door, while the favourites did not in the least dream of such his attention. His lordship then lamented the prodigious influence the Duchess of Portsmouth had over the king, complaining that she betrayed him not in his councils only, but his bed also, and that she certainly lay with the grand prior of France, who often came over, under the mask of love, the better and more effectually to transmit intelligence and informa-

tion to his master the French king. He urged it that the king was too passive with regard to these things, and observed it as his greatest fault, that no argument could prevail on him to resent what he clearly saw he ought to resent, and that he descended too low from the sublime elevation of his dignity. His lordship then took notice, that I also, in my station, was the subject of much envy, and advised me, when I returned again into the country, to demean myself so as to gain as great a measure of favour and benevolence as I decently could.

Upon the whole, I perceived that the lord privy seal had the better and more approved cause, and that the Lord Rochester had the more potent and overruling interest; that the lord privy seal deservedly weighed with the body of the nation, and that the Lord Rochester weighed, though undeservedly enough, only with the Duke of York, the Duchess of Portsmouth, my Lord of Ormond, and others at court, who depended upon his majesty's purse, which laboured the distribution of Lord Rochester. In short the fear was, that the diligence of those so near the king might prevail on him to abandon the lord privy seal, who depended upon himself only, upon no interest but his own, and upon the merit, which was certainly great, of the important services he had already done, and was best able for the future to do for the crown; and here we put a period to this year.

In April, 1683, I returned to York, and heard that city had chosen the Duke of Richmond to be their high steward, which I was not sorry to understand, as their affairs then stood, my lord privy seal having declined that honour for the sake of the Duke of

Buckingham, who was to be put out before another could be admitted. The duchess took this very kindly, and upon receiving the patent for that office, which the city presented to the young duke in a gold box, her grace sent my lord mayor a letter of thanks, wherein she said the king was very well pleased that the second city in England had had that regard for her son, and assured him and the corporation of her utmost services. But the Duke of Buckingham took it extremely ill of them, on the other hand, and wrote them such a letter, as might easily convince them of it. The Duke of Buckingham being well with the lord privy seal, I was at some loss to know how to steer between the divided interests, but I hope I did it in such a manner as to give offence to neither.

On the 26th of June following, we were alarmed with a report of a dangerous conspiracy against the king, of such as had been disappointed of preferments at court, and of protestant dissenters. The same conspiracy was also against the Duke of York, and the design was to have shot both his majesty and his highness as they came from Newmarket, the day of their return being fixed. This was to have been executed by forty men, who, the blow given, were to have scoured to London, and to have reported it to have been done by the papists. In London it was said there were a body of men ready to rise, and to take immediate possession of the city and Tower, and consequently of the whole nation, and that the Duke of Monmouth was ready to head the insurrection.

This was miraculously defeated by a fire which burned down a great part of the town of Newmarket, and caused the king's departure from thence ten days

sooner than was at first intended. The design thus frustrated, it was afterward renewed to kill the two royal brothers as they came from Hampton Court, but the king being alone, they postponed it, their view being to destroy both or neither. These and the like disappointments put it into the head of one of the melancholy conspirators, that God, to use his own phrase, was against them, which wrought on him to disclose the whole affair, and he accordingly did. Upon this, many of the conspirators and abettors withdrew ; the Duke of Monmouth fled, Lord Grey made his escape after he had been taken, but Sir Thomas Armstrong was apprehended and committed to the Tower, together with the Earl of Essex, the Lord Howard of Eskrick, Lord Russel, and many others ; and orders were sent down, to us in the north, to keep a watchful eye, and a ready hand over all suspicious persons, and particularly to look out for one Mr. Goodenough, and one Mr. Nelthorp, who were supposed to have made their way towards us. By some Scotchmen we intercepted and examined, we understood this conspiracy to have been general with the fanatics and discontented in both kingdoms, and that the correspondence was carried on between them, by the Scotch pedlars, and other emissaries in disguise, which caused great scrutiny and search to be made and observed with regard to all such people from the north : but to dwell on the particulars of this plot, and the proofs made out against those who suffered for it, were needless, after what has been said and recorded by many both privately and publickly concerning it ; so I shall only say, that in the conclusion it proved fatal to Lord

Russel, the eldest son and heir to the Earl of Bedford, and others of more inferior note.

While we were labouring uuder the terrors of the late conspiracy, uncertain to what degree it might extend, and what might be the future purpose and resolution of the desperate people concerned, the rest of Christendom was in some seeming danger of being overspread by the Turk, and now, more than ever, under the apprehensions of such a catastrophe, the common enemy having for some time laid close siege to Vienna, and reduced that capital to great extremities. But at length it was relieved, on the 12th of August, by the fortunate valour of the King of Poland, assisted principally by the Duke of Lorraine, the emperor's general, and partly by the electors of Saxony and Bavaria; but the bare mention of this being as much as can be required of my hands, I shall return to the posture and current of our own affairs.

In October, I had a letter from my Lord Hallifax, to acquaint me that I had the king's leave to come to town, which I had desired, as thinking it to be necessary I should be near the king's person, at a time when I thought he would be taking of new measures and making of new regulations, with regard to affairs in general, and officers in particular, for his own and the nation's greater security, after the late horrid machinations: accordingly I set out the latter end of this month for London, where I arrived in November.

I went to visit my lord privy seal, and found him still rooted in the king's good esteem; but that the duke was not altogether so grateful to him as he ought to have been. I found also, that the differences between



Painted by Van Dyke

William Russell, Duke of Bedford.

Engraved by Edward Smith

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HYDE Earl of ROCHESTER.

his lordship and Lord Rochester not only subsisted still, but with more acrimony and warmth than before ; and understood that the lord mayor of York was sent for up, by an order of council, on account of some words he had spoken. The king received me very graciously, and the duke seemed kind to me, nor did my Lord Rochester, whom I visited, scruple to favour me with a decent reception.

But I found the hopes of a parliament to be still at a very great distance, though Flanders was in danger of falling next spring under the yoke of France, and though the nation was much dissatisfied at the tedious delay, that part of the nation, I mean, that was in opposition to the French interest. And just now it happened that the grand prior of France being in England, and observed to be very fond of the Duchess of Portsmouth, and she of him, the king conceived so great a jealousy thereat, he sent him away ; and it was shrewdly suspected the Duchess would not be long behind him, which few people seemed to be sorry for.

I had heard, from a great man, that something would shortly happen very much to the mortification of the Duke of York and his party, a mystery which seemed in a few days afterwards to be explained. The Duke of Monmouth being suspected to have taken refuge somewhere abroad, on account of the conspiracy, surrenders himself to Mr. Secretary Jenkins, at Whitehall, where the thing being before concerted, the king and duke went to him, and, after an hour's discourse, suffered him to go to his lodgings at the cockpit, attended by his own servants, and under no other restraint than that of a serjeant at arms ; but what was said or

done at this interview, may be conjectured sooner than known.

This was matter of surprise to all people, and waiting on lord privy seal, he told me, he doubted not but the Duke of Monmouth's affair, his grace having that day kissed the king's hand, the duke's, and the queen's, would be the subject of great speculation, and that various guesses would be made as to the intercession that brought it to pass. I told him the world said the Duchess of Portsmouth, and Lord Sunderland had done it, and that it was publicly known that the king had the day before in council said, it was at the request of the Duke of York, to whom his grace had made submission, and disclaimed all competition with for the crown. His lordship answered, that the thing was far from so, for that the Duke of York and those in his interest, had opposed it to the very last; and thereupon owned himself to have been chiefly instrumental therein; and gave me several reasons, both public and private, though not proper to be here enumerated, why he laboured to that end. By this it plainly appeared to me, that notwithstanding the extraordinary strength of the interest combined against him, this noble lord had great power with his majesty. His lordship moreover gave me to understand that his grace had made confession of the late plot, but would not give any public evidence against the conspirators. But to dismiss this, certain it is that whoever wrought so industriously, with the king, in favour of the Duke of Monmouth, his majesty himself may be said to have had a large share therein. He had a paternal affection for him, nor could refrain from the most open

and public expressions of it wherever he saw him ; and the duke, on his part, paid all the respect and duty imaginable in attending upon, and following the king. Mean while the whole court began to discover, that though his highness of York seemed outwardly to agree to the Duke of Monmouth's readmission, it was by no means an act of choice, but of necessity, the king having declared he would have it so ; and that he was not made privy to it above two days before it was effected.

The king had now conceived a displeasure against the city of York, and coming from the Duchess of Portsmouth's, on the 29th of November, he asked me, leaning upon my arm, if I knew sufficient matter for bringing a *quo warranto* against their charter. I told his majesty, I did not, but would endeavour to inform myself, but feared I could not so well do it at such a distance as if I was upon the spot : to which his majesty replied, " I only recommend it to you." The lord mayor it seems had refused to let a mountebank erect his stage in that city, though he was furnished with the king's recommendation, which the man complaining of, his majesty thought himself thereby slighted, or injured.

The lord mayor of York being arrived, came, on the 4th of December, to desire leave to make use of my name before the council, so far as to say, the governor knew how ready he was with his assistance upon occasion of the late plot, to which I gave my consent. I well knew that the Duke of York, who thought him accessory to his once ill reception in that city, wished in his heart the man might be punished ; but I imagined I could not but in justice stand by him in what was right,

and that I could not do amiss in carrying him to my lord privy seal, who gave him his promise to assist him at the board. I knew there was pique and malice in the complaint against him, and was in hopes it might be a means of making him a thorough convert, if he was but mercifully handled in this troublesome matter.

Being, the next day, at Lady Portsmouth's, the king told me there was fresh complaint against the lord mayor of York, and that he was afraid he was but a bad man. I said I was obliged to acquaint his majesty with this truth, that he was very ready to give me his assistance in York, upon the late dreadful occasion ; but that I could say nothing in defence of what he might have committed since I left the place : to have done with this ;

On the 6th of this month, the Duke of Monmouth, having obtained his pardon, refused to sign a public declaration of his knowledge of the late conspiracy against the king, for which he was ordered to keep from Whitehall. My Lord Privy Seal told me, the manner of doing this, as required, was something hard, but that his grace ought entirely to have submitted himself to the king's pleasure. His lordship, I found, was much concerned that the duke had been so obstinate, and he had reason to be so, being now deemed, as he was, the chief instrument that brought him into favour. The next day Mr. Algernon Sydney was executed upon Tower Hill, as one of the conspirators, but said nothing before he suffered. He only left a paper with the sheriff, which I heard the king say was very treasonable and evasive, though not wholly negative of the fact laid to his charge ; but, however, it was not



Engraved by R. Cooper.

ALGERNON SIDNEY.

OB. 1683.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE COLLECTION OF

SIR JOHN SHELLEY SIDNEY, BART

thought proper to be printed. And now I found that the Duke of York was not at all pleased with the lord privy seal, though he made open shew of the contrary, for that he was not consulted on the restoration of the Duke of Monmouth ; and it was his lordship's own expression, " that the duke would never forgive it him." But the king having been the chief promoter of it, it did not appear that his lordship had lost any ground with him. The Duke of Monmouth would not perform what was expected of him, and how could his lordship help it ?

The confederates, Spain, Holland, Sweden, and the rest, who were now preparing to resist the French, and to preserve Flanders, were very angry with us, for that we still supinely persisted in our neutrality, and particularly the Spaniard, who said it was a breach of our league with him ; but all remonstrances of this sort were to none effect ; our king pretended his own affairs were in so ill a posture at home, that he could not so much as think of involving himself in a war ; which confirmed the jealousy of our adhering to the French interest, and of a private commerce kept up with them, by the intervention of the Duchess of Portsmouth and others.

The talk of the town now was, that the Lord Privy Seal was not well with the king, and that at court he met with discouragements of such a nature, as to make him retire from business. I communicated this to his lordship, on the 11th, who told me, he had, indeed, met with discouragements from some, but none at all from the king, for that he was as well there as ever ; and that there would be a farther production of affairs, in a little time, than was expected, and so pointed at

the thing that I easily guessed what he meant. A few days afterwards I was with the Duke of Albemarle, who told me he was sorry to find that lord privy seal, purely to outdo his antagonist Rochester, should have had so great a hand in bringing in Monmouth, and thereby have incurred the Duke of York's displeasure, as well as the dislike of a great number of the loyalists, who were before his friends. That, not many hours before, the duke had told him, that if the lord privy seal had had no friendship for him in any other capacity, yet, as being the king's brother, he might have let him into the secret, and not have brought in Monmouth quite without his privity: that indeed he never could forget what the lord privy seal had formerly done to serve him; but that he took a way, if possible, to make him forget it; and that to his knowledge, his lordship was still exerting his labours to re-unite the king and Monmouth. The Duke of Albemarle then observed, that his highness knew his relation to the lord privy seal, but that the loyalty and respect he bore to his highness was more considered by him than all that, and that he hoped his lordship designed him no disservice in this affair, with much more to the same purpose; in short, his grace seemed much to lament what his lordship had done in favour of Monmouth. His grace added, that if the Privy Seal would but trust him, he would tell him how to be too hard for Rochester, without recurring to such unpopular methods.

On the 2d of January, I communicated the particulars of this conversation to his lordship, who answered, that he thereby perceived the duke had a mind to be upon better measures with him; but that, abso-



GEORGE MONCK

afterwards Duke of Albemarle.

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lately, he had not seen the Duke of Monmouth since he last left the court ; that as to what he had done for his grace, it was purely in obedience to the king's commands ; and that as the king would not allow him, it was impossible for him to have disclosed the matter to his highness ; and concluded, that he was to dine with the Duke of Albemarle the Wednesday following, and should the better know what to say to his grace, if he touched upon this affair, since I had taken care to apprise him of his thoughts.

I learnt from a great man, that we were in no way of having a parliament, there being some near the king, who advised him to another way of ruling the kingdom. The same gentleman, at the same time, lamented, that now the fanatics had nothing else to say against the government, they must have sufficient cause of complaint upon this account, as well as on account of several other points now in agitation. Some days afterwards, my lord privy seal told me, he had been very earnest with the king to call a parliament, and had represented to him, that though he had slipped the opportunity of calling one immediately after the late plot, when he could not possibly have failed of one according to his mind, and might fear he should meet with no good one now, he would do well to consider, that the longer he deferred the thing, the worse it would be, and indeed so very bad, that it might be used as an argument never to call one more. That nothing ought to have that weight with him, as his word given to the people ; that the law required a parliament to be called every three years ; and that, upon the last dissolution, his majesty had promised a religious observance of the laws, by a proclamation setting

forth his reasons for dismissing that parliament: that the general construction put upon this was, that he intended to call another within the three years, and that he feared an ill use might be made of his not doing what it was so generally supposed he certainly would: that though the antimonarchs were now at a very low ebb, and under great discouragements, such his majesty's procedure might raise a spirit of discontent where it was least expected, meaning among those, who though they were friends to the crown, were, at the same time, desirous he should govern according to law, and not only desired, but expected it, since he had given his royal word, that he would do so: that if, however, his majesty thought not well of this, he would be nevertheless so far from relinquishing his service, that he would make it his study to find out excuses to make him easy with the people. So then there was no possibility of seeing a parliament assembled, but by some compulsion from a foreign cause, and nobody could tell, but that if the war went on, the confederates might be provoked to declare against us.

In short, affairs were now chiefly under the management of the Duke of York, who carried every thing with a very lofty hand; but, what is very strange, the Earl of Danby was on the point of stepping out of the Tower, though against his highness's consent. My Lord Privy Seal assured me his enlargement was at hand; that he himself had been his lordship's chief friend, and that the king had made both the duke and Lord Rochester seemingly set their hands to it. The duke, indeed, appeared to be hearty in it, and that the king was so, there could be no doubt; but Rochester and Sunderland did underhand oppose it with might and

main, and so contrived that the judges delayed to bail out his lordship till the very last day of the term ; those two lords dreading, that Danby might join with Halifax to weaken their interest.

And now (February 10) it was resolved to bring a *quo warranto*, if with any colour of justice it could be done, against the charter of York ; and two days afterwards, Lord Danby was bailed out of his long confinement of five years, as were all the popish lords that had been under durance ever since the time of the first plot. Lord Danby came the same day to kiss his majesty's hand in the bedchamber, where I happened to be present. The king received him very kindly, and when the earl complained of his long imprisonment, his majesty told him, he knew it was against his consent, which his lordship thankfully acknowledged ; but they had no manner of private discourse together. My Lord Privy Seal came into the presence presently after, and the two lords saluted each other ; but it was very slightly done on both sides—the next day, however, I went from the lord privy seal, to wait upon the earl, when his lordship desired me to present his service to him, and to tell him, that he should have taken a more particular sort of notice of him, but that he thought it would not prove so much for his service : and the earl said, it was for the very self same reason he had behaved so indifferently towards his lordship ; for there was at that time great jealousy of a friendship between them. Lord Danby told me, he would retire to his house out of town, nor concern himself with business, though he doubted not but he might if he would, but not upon the national foundation he desired, and therefore

would have nothing to do with it, declaring his aversion to a French or a popish interest. He told me also, the substance of what had passed between the duke and him, at the visit he made to his highness, after he had been with the king, and I thereby understood his lordship was upon no very affectionate terms with that prince. He said his highness told him, he had heard he had spoken slightly of him, and that he answered, it is true he had often been so unfortunate as to differ with him in opinion, and could not help saying, that he had never yet found any cause to repent him of it ; but that for expressing himself any how against his person, if he heard so, they were whispers and lies ; and desired to know who were his informers ; but the duke evaded that. In short, I found by my lord privy Seal, that he and the earl of Danby had a good understanding together.

On the 1st of March, the king went to Newmarket, and I followed him a few days afterwards ; when the weather being very unseasonable and dirty, and walking about the town with his majesty, he observed, that my shoes were but thin, and advised me to get a stronger pair to prevent my catching cold, which, though a trivial remark in itself, may serve for an example of that prince's great goodness and care for those persons that were near him, though ever so inconsiderable. The manner of the king's dividing his time at this place was thus : he walked in the morning till ten of the clock ; then he went to the cockpit till dinner-time ; about three he went to the horse-races ; at six he returned to the cockpit, for an hour only ; then he went to the play, though the actors were but of a terrible sort ; from thence to supper ; then to the Duchess of Ports-

mouth's till bed-time ; and so to his own apartment to take his rest.

March 25, 1684. But to have done with these domestic diversions, it may be proper just to take notice, that the war abroad seemed to be in the way of a very violent continuance, though the French king had offered rather a truce or a peace for a certain term of years : but then it was upon very hard conditions, he refusing to give up any thing he had taken, either from Spain or the empire, so that there was no likelihood that the confederates would agree thereto. Our king, however, seconded the French king's offers, recommended them to the allies as reasonable, and proffered to be guarantee between them in case they came to a point.

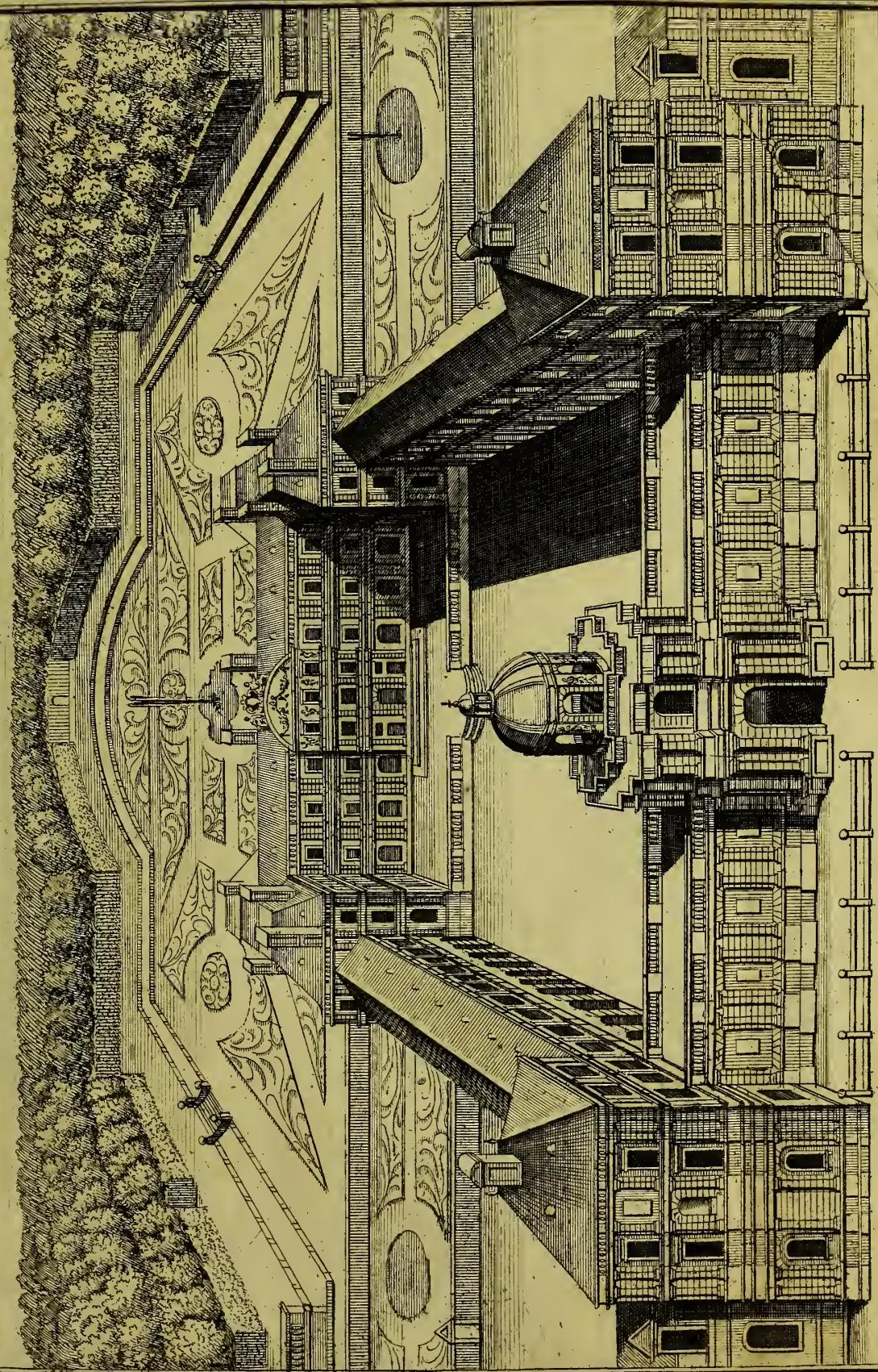
Mean while, Lord Rochester continued powerful enough to advance his friends, and Mr. Godolphin, one of the commissioners of the treasury, was made secretary of state on the 2d of April, instead of Sir Lyonel Jenkins, who had leave, by reason of his great age, to retire ; a promotion that was not made without the participation of the Lady Portsmouth. The lord privy seal, the same day, told me, that though all these combined interests were still as averse to him as ever, the king was nevertheless as kind to him as he had usually been ; but it was very obvious, that his lordship was less in business than before ; his lordship, however, had certainly a very large portion of the king's esteem, and what he said had generally great weight with his majesty. And on the 11th of May, the Duke of York is declared lord high admiral of England ; that is, he was invested with the power of that office, without either the title or the patent,

because his highness could not dispense with the oaths or the sacrament, a circumstance which gave great offence to numbers of people. Nor must we forget another thing, though of a private nature, which happened this day ; for the Duchess of Portsmouth, contrary to custom, waiting on the queen, at dinner, as lady of the bedchamber, her majesty was thereby thrown into such disorder, that the tears stood in her eyes, while the other laughed at it, and turned it into a jest.

News came on the 25th of this month, that the French had possessed themselves of Luxemburgh, which our court seemed to be not at all displeased with ; but there were those, and some of them the king's best friends, who were extremely sorry to hear it, that place being reckoned to be the key of Germany, Holland, and Flanders, and probably too opportune to advance the grandeur of the common enemy. A few days afterwards, I went to Windsor, to congratulate the king upon his birth-day ; the crowd, upon this occasion, was great, but as for gaiety and gallantry, there was but little of either, especially as to apparel. And now the Duke of York is declared of the great council, commonly called the privy council, whence he had been excluded ever since the statute which required the taking of oaths, which his highness refusing upon this readmission, it became the subject of much talk, and was deemed to be a breach of one of the most solemn and most explicit acts of parliament.

Intending for the north, I went to take leave of the king on the 15th of June, who told me, that those who had served him so carefully and so well as I had

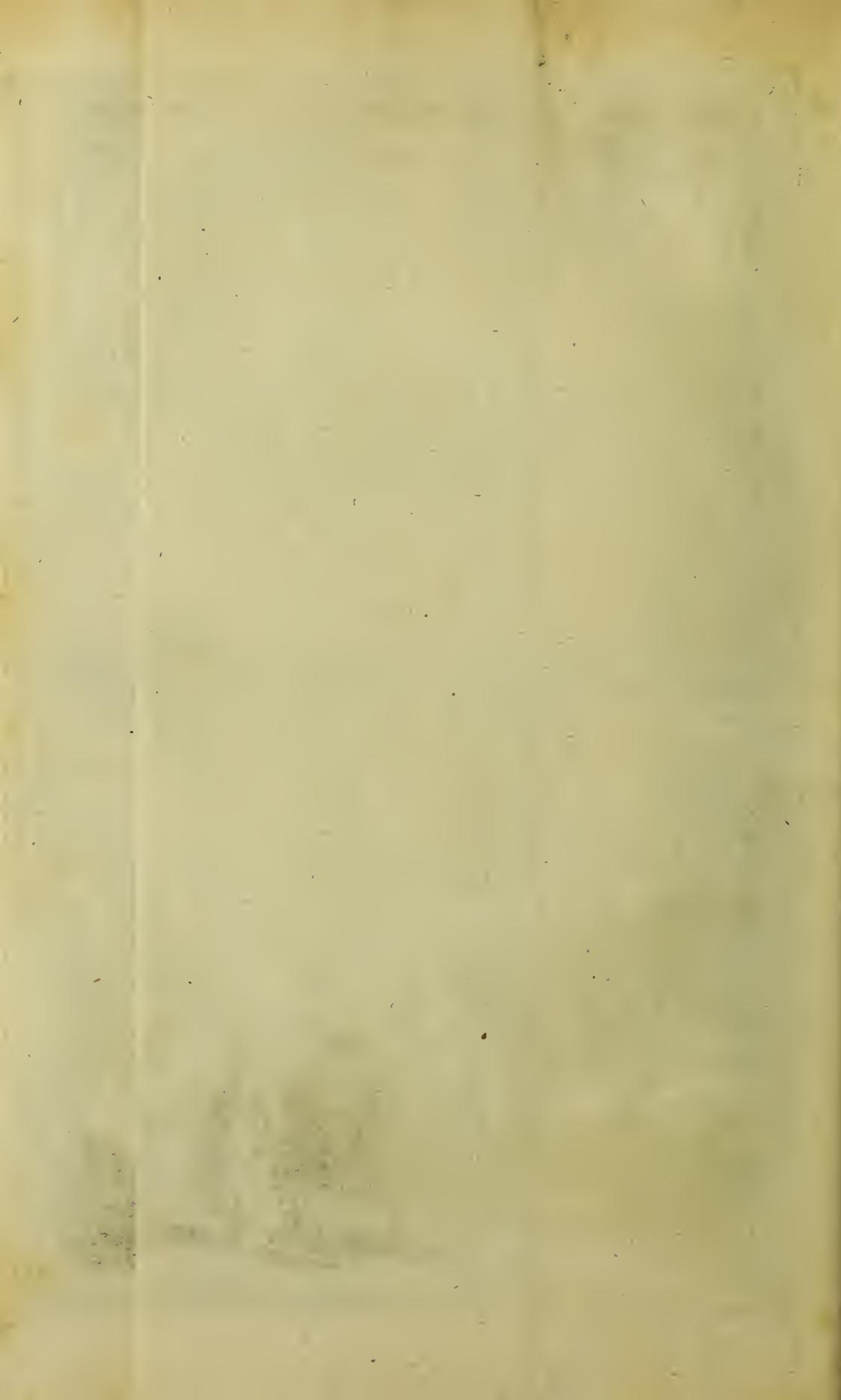
The Palace of Luxembourg in FRANCE, belonging to y^e Duke of Orleans





LUXEMBOURG.
Capitale du Duché de même nom.





done, should always be in his thoughts, and that I should find it so by experience. I waited also on the duke, and desired his commands for York: he told me, he doubted not but I should do what became me for his majesty's service, and that for his own part, he depended upon me. I assured his highness, I should never fail in any part of my trust; but begged of him to hearken to no stories that might be told him to my prejudice. I told him that every county had its competitors, and that it was impossible for me to hope to live without enemies, and especially as I had the honour of serving the king preferably to many of equal and some of superior rank, who could not but look upon me, for that reason, with an eye of envy. A few days afterwards, I visited the Lord Danby, who informed me, that Lord Rochester was closing in with the moderate men, not I suppose out of any affection for them, but to make himself the stronger rival against lord privy seal, who was suspected to stand upon a firmer bottom than he, and consequently to be better able to stand the shock of a parliament, in case the king should be prevailed on to call one: but, alas! parliaments seemed to be no longer thought of, and to be quite out of doors; for, it was Lord Danby's opinion, there was a very strict conjunction between us and France, though they had so lately taken Luxembourg, and were likely to succeed according to their own wishes.

I returned to the north, and the August following, we had the grateful news that Buda had been taken for the emperor, by the Duke of Lorrain; as also, that a truce was made between the emperor and the King of France, which looked as if a general peace was at

hand, that the Christian powers might the better exert themselves against the presumptuous arms of the infidel. And what still added to the good aspect of the thing, we had advice, there had been great alterations made with regard to the grandees at court, and that particularly Lord Rochester had been removed from the head of the treasury board, to that of the council ; in which, though he was advanced in honour, he was put backward in profit and power : it was therefore most evidently what he never sought for, and as plain, that Lord Halifax had brought it to pass : thus it was that Lord Danby, now in the country, conjectured ; and it was soon confirmed to me, by a letter from my Lord Marquis himself, wherein he made use of these words ; “ You may believe I am not at all displeased to see such an adversary removed from the only place that could give him power and advantage ; and he bears it with so little philosophy, that, if I had ill nature enough, he gives me sufficient occasion to triumph. You see I cannot hinder myself from imparting my satisfaction to so good a friend.” But the wonder was, how the finger of my lord privy seal was able to effect this against the shoulder of the Duke of York, who still continued a friend to Rochester as much as ever.

I went to visit the Duke of Newcastle at his castle of Nottingham, on the 4th of September, where the Duke of Buckingham had been not long before, and giving a long account of affairs above, which seemed to intimate as if, notwithstanding what had lately happened, the French interest was still uppermost at court. His grace told me also, that Buckingham was very angry with the Marquis of Halifax, for refusing to admit of



HENRY CAVENDISH,
Duke of Newcastle. 1676.

a private communication with the French ambassador, when he offered to bring him to his lordship ; and that his grace should say, his power would never be considerable while he continued averse to that interest. But in contradiction to this, I, towards the latter end of this same month, received a very kind letter from my Lord Marquis, and others from very great persons, which gave me to understand, there would probably be some farther change at court, that his lordship stood very firm with the king, and that it was believed the power of the French interest was somewhat abated.

On the 20th of January, 1685, a *quo warranto*, which had so long threatened them, was served upon the city of York, and the resolution thereupon, was to send up the charter, and to offer at no defence against the king : I endeavoured, as much as I conveniently could, to appear quite indifferent on either side ; but almost upon the back of this, I had the sad news, from the Earl of Burlington, that his majesty had been taken, upon the 2d of February, with a fit of an apoplexy, though they called it an epilepsy ; and that he had continued as it were dead almost three hours, till he was brought to himself again, by bleeding, cupping, vomiting, and several other means that had been used. His lordship furthermore, in his letter, ordered me, so to dispose of things as might best prevent disturbances and troubles, in case his majesty should unfortunately suffer a relapse ; and all the necessary precautions were taken accordingly ; though upon the news that the king was recovered, and in some way of continuance, there was nothing but bonfires and rejoicings in our parts ; a short lived mirth ; for three days afterwards, we had news that his majesty was fallen into a

relapse, and that his physicians were in great fear he could not recover. At this we doubled our diligence to secure peace and quietness, and to prevent any obstacle that might start up in prejudice to the Duke of York. Two days afterwards, Feb. 7, came news, that my great and good master was departed this life. The mail came not in till four in the morning, when I was sitting up to receive it, resolved to suffer no letter to go out till I had been with the Lord Mayor, and the High Sheriff, to whom I immediately delivered their own letters, by which they had orders, together with myself, from the privy council and the secretary of state, to proceed immediately and proclaim James the Second. As soon as we had got every thing ready for this ceremony, which we had before day, I gave leave for the delivery of the rest of the letters; and by seven in the morning, the high sheriff, met by the archbishop and most of the gentlemen in the town, moved towards the Castle-yard to proclaim the king there, while I caused all the garrison, the necessary guards excepted, to be drawn together in the Thursday market.

By nine in the morning of the 8th, the king was proclaimed by my lord mayor, the high sheriff, and myself; the first did it in the usual places in the city; the second did it in the Castle-yard for the county, and I did it in the Thursday market, to the garrison there drawn out together; I then ordered a double discharge of the artillery, and several volleys, according to the orders I had for that end received from my Lord Sunderland. All this was transacted with all imaginable token of peace and joy; not only in York, but afterwards throughout the whole county, and indeed, the whole kingdom.

A strange effect of power it was from heaven itself, that so strong a party as had reared its head in parliament, and so pertinaciously called out for the exclusion of the Duke of York, should now upon his accession acquiesce to him, with such deference and quiet submission. But it may be presumed, they were aware of the difference there was between the spirit of the late and the present king: the former they thought might, for peace sake, be sooner brought to abandon his brother, than the latter tamely to renounce his right and title to three kingdoms, for fear of a war. But what served in very great measure to quiet the minds and allay the passions of men, was King James's declaration to the privy council immediately after the breath was out of his brother's body, whereby he promised to defend the government of England, both in church and state, and carefully to tread in the footsteps of his late majesty, with regard to his kindness and lenity towards his people; and that as on the one hand, he would defend the just rights and prerogatives of the crown, so on the other he would invade no man's property.

I stayed at York a few days to keep the peace, and, in the mean time, had notice from the proper hands, that I was continued in my command, and that I had leave to set out for London, as I, indeed had desired. But on the 16th there began to be great changes at court; Lord Rochester was made lord high treasurer of England; lord privy seal was made lord president of the council; which though it was a step higher as to place, it was much doubted that it was not at his lordship's desire; the trust and profit of the privy seal being judged to be an overbalance for the

honour of the other. And now we had the agreeable prospect of a parliament, which it was said his majesty intended should meet in May next.

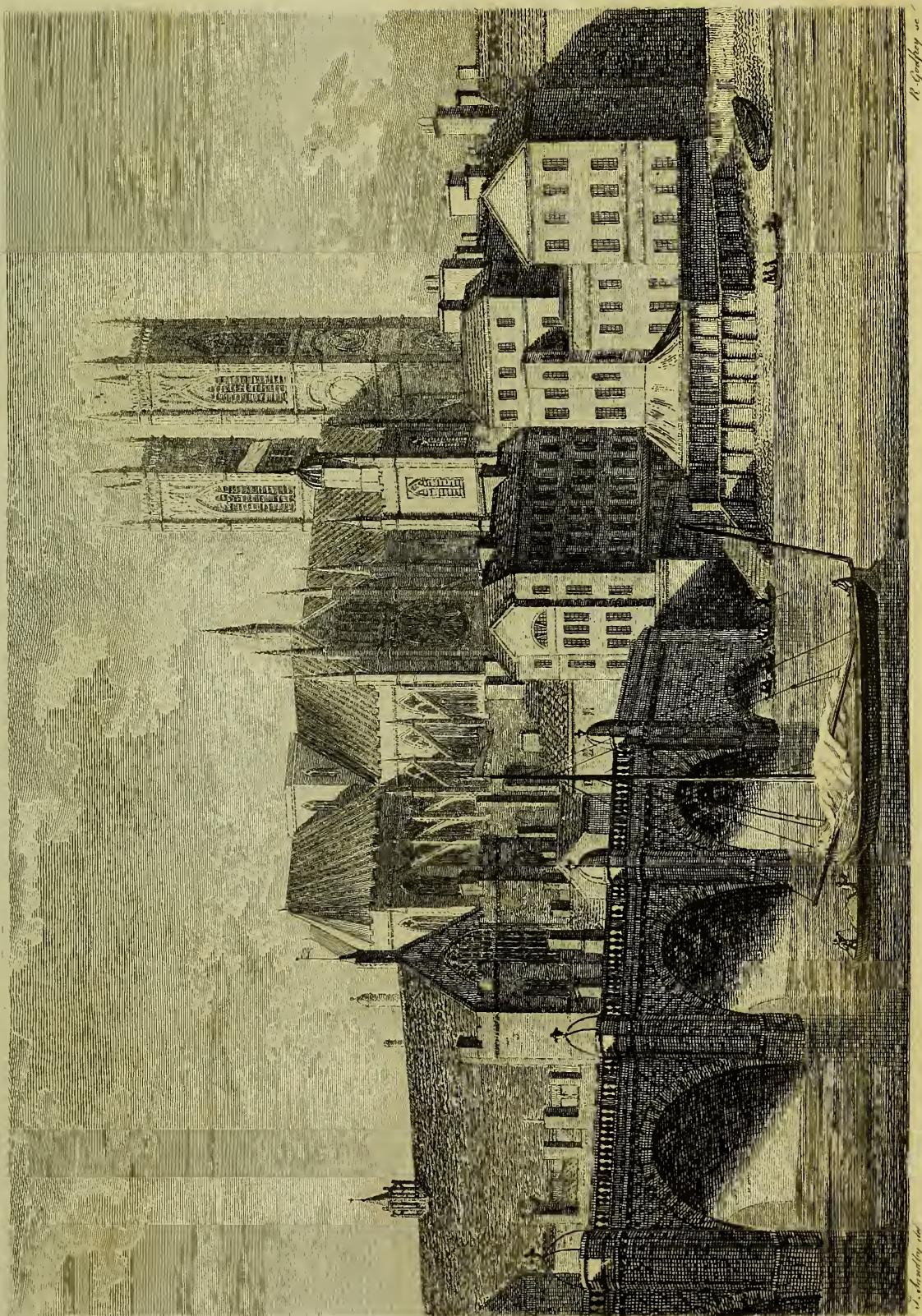
It was now beyond all doubt that the king was a papist; for on the 13th of April he went publicly to mass, though he ordered the chapel of Whitehall to be kept in *statu quo*; whither the Princess of Denmark repaired daily, while the king did the same to the queen's private chapel. In the interim, I was chosen a member to sit in the ensuing parliament for the city of York; and with this new charge, I this day sat forward for London; where being arrived, my Lord Marquis of Halifax told me, he and Lord Rochester, the treasurer, were now very well together; that he had used his constant endeavours to serve the king, and that he would continue to do the same; but that he hoped his majesty would not think of imposing his religion on him; which he seemed sorrowfully to apprehend, the most considerable posts in the army in Ireland, being now put into the hands of papists. His lordship then recalled to me several instances of the late king's kindness to him, and certainly no man was deeper in his favour, when his majesty was unfortunately snatched away, than my lord marquis. A few days afterwards, I waited on his majesty, kissed his hand, and at the same time presented him with an address from the young men of the city of York, who had petitioned me for leave to exercise themselves at arms on certain days of the year, which the king received very kindly.

The next day my Lord Hallifax told me he had had two private audiences of the king, and that he had in such plain terms told him his mind, upon the grand point of government, that he much wondered the

WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

Engraved from an original Drawing.

March 1. 1775.







Drawn by M. Chambers.

Engraved by W. Thomas.

The Inside of Henry the 7th. Chapel in
WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

king, considering his natural temper, took it with that calmness and composure he did. His lordship then observed, it possibly might be insisted on, that some acts should, in the ensuing parliament, be repealed, which would require a weighty and mature deliberation; and touched on some things not altogether so fit to be inserted in this place.

The king was crowned and the queen in Westminster Abbey, on the 23d of April, with all imaginable pomp and magnificence, except that there was no calvalcade through the city, as the custom had formerly been.

Their majesties went privately to the palace at Westminster, where they, the nobility, and all the officers of the crown put on their robes, formalities, and ensigns, and thence proceeded through Palace Yard, railed in and prepared for that purpose, in procession to Westminster Abbey, whence the ceremony being completed, they all returned to the hall, to a most sumptuous dinner. And now the gentlemen of the house of commons began to consider what the court might demand of them, as well as what might be granted at the approaching session, the parliament consisting of a great number of loyal gentlemen, who were nevertheless, good patriots, and true protestants. The report went, that there would be more required in behalf of popery, than the laws now in force would allow of; and that the king expected the settlement of a constant revenue upon him, suitable to that of the late king, besides a sum of ready money to subvene his present occasions. That in favour of popery it would be proposed to repeal the *habeas corpus* act, which I found was much opposed by some great ones, in their

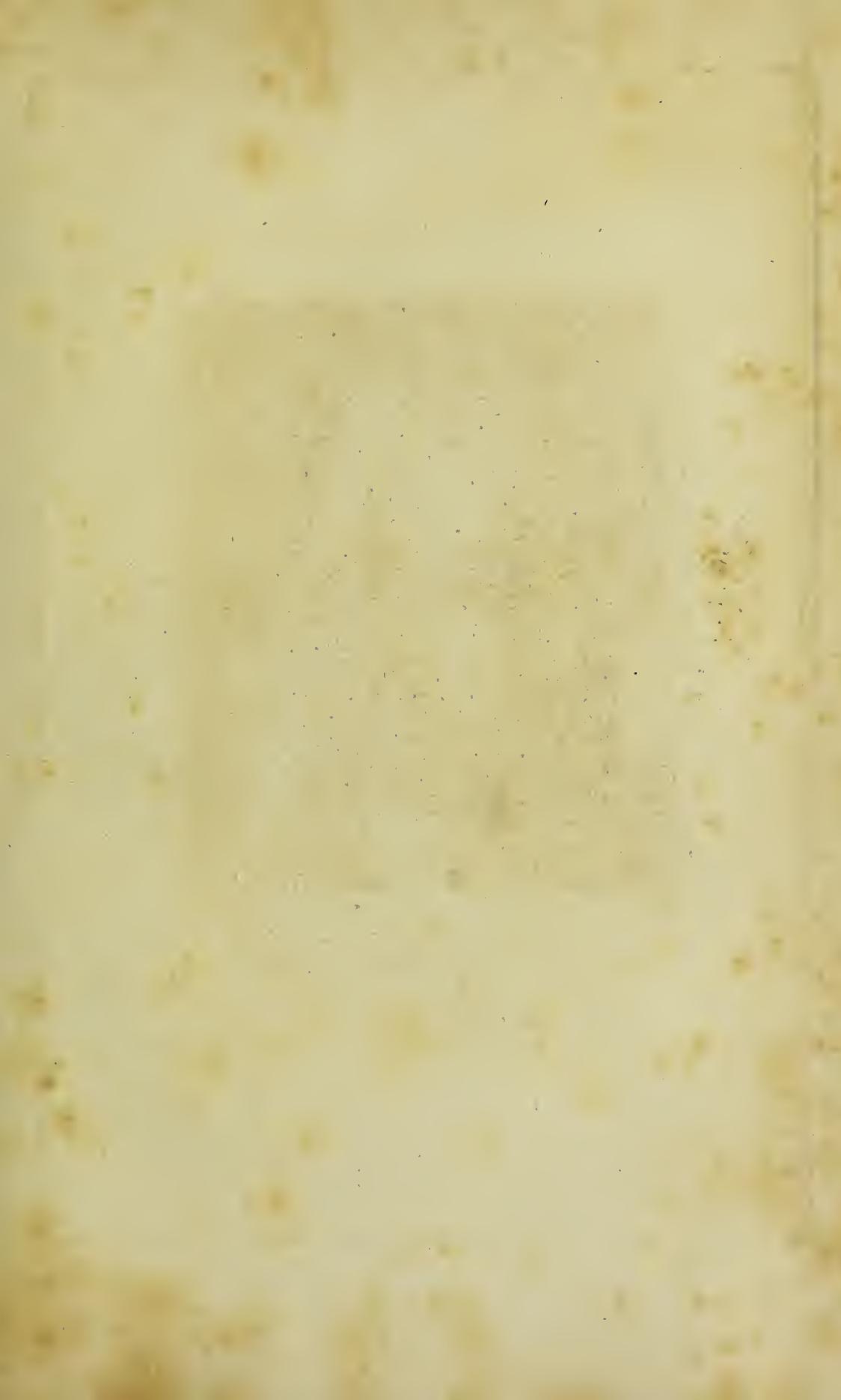
private discourse, as well as by some of us ; and to enact a general toleration or liberty of conscience, which some seemed willing enough to subscribe to ; though at the same time, the resolution was to admit of no alteration to capacitate papists to enjoy any place or employment in or under the government. As for the affair of money, men in general seemed willing to settle an handsome revenue upon the king, and to give him money, but whether their grant should be permanent or only temporary, and to be renewed from time to time by parliament, that the nation might be the oftener consulted, was the question : in all this, I resolved punctually to do my duty to the crown, but not to be unmindful of a due regard for my country and my religion.

On the 4th of May I had some discourse with Mr. Hilliard, Sir Roger Martin, and other gentlemen of great consideration with the popish party : they told me, the king would expect a repeal of the sanguinary laws ; that the papists should be allowed the private exercise of their religion, and that they, at least such as had served the royal family in the wars or otherwise, should be capable of employment under him : that the king would, in parliament, give full satisfaction to the nation, with regard to their religion and properties ; but that if reason would not serve his purpose, he knew what he had to do. That the king would never divide the regal power by admitting of that of the pope ; that his majesty was too fond of power to be guilty of that oversight ; and that his adhering to the defence of the church of England, would on the other hand, deter the pope from pressing him to admit of his supremacy ; in short, that it was



THOMAS PICKERIN G,

a Say Priest, executed at Tyburn May 9th 1679





J. B. De Medina pinxit.

S. Simon sculpsit

ARCHIBALD 9th EARL of ARGYLE,

Ob. June 1685.

From an original Print engraved at the time

in possession of General Dowdeswell

Published by E. Jeffery N^o II. Pall Mall

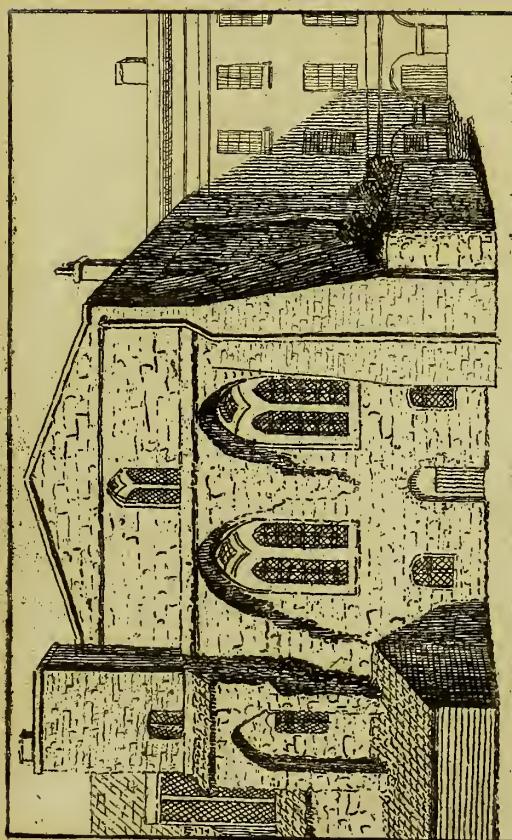
but reasonable the king should insist on the repeal of the several penal laws against the papists for that if he should die, he would leave them in as ill a plight as he found them: but what wisdom or sense there was in those who, at this time, could offer at such arguments, need not be said.

I waited on the king in his barge from Whitehall to Somerset-house, where he went to visit the queen dowager: it was upon this day, that the noted Doctor Oates was convicted of perjury, it being proved, that he was at St. Omer's the 24th of April, 1678, when he swore he was at the White-horse Tavern in the Strand, where Pickering, Groves, Ireland, and other jesuits signed the death of King Charles the second: this was a grateful hearing to the king, who thereupon observed, that, indeed, there had been a meeting of the jesuits that day, and that all the scholars of St. Omer's knew of it, but that it was well Doctor Oates knew no better where it was to be; for, says his majesty, they met in St. James's, where I then lived, which, if Oates had but known, he would have cut out a fine spot of work for me. The king then subjoined, that Oates being thus convicted, the popish plot was now dead; to which I answering, that it had long since been dead, and that now it would be buried; his majesty so well approved of the turn, that going with him afterwards to the Princess of Denmark, I heard him repeat it to her.

Three or four days afterwards, we had advice, that a store of arms had been bought up in Holland, and conveyed into Scotland; and that Lord Argyle, Lord Grey, and some said the Duke of Monmouth, were actually gone with them or after them.

Meanwhile, the parliament assembled in the usual apartments at Westminster, on the 19th of May, but did nothing this day but take the oaths, and chuse their speaker, Sir John Trevor, who was confirmed by the king: the two next days were also taken up in swearing the members, and taking the test. On the twenty-second, the king made a speech to both houses, and therein assured them, he would support and defend the church of England, whose members had ever been most loyal in the worst of times, in the cause of his father, and the support of his brother; as also to adhere to the government both in church and state, as by law established; and that as he never would depart from the just rights and prerogatives of the crown, so neither would he attempt to invade any man's property. He desired of us suitable returns in settling the revenue on him for life, as in the late king; and concluded with an account he had received from Scotland, that the Earl of Argyle was landed with men and arms, on the Western Islands of that kingdom; and that the said lord had published two declarations, in both of which he charged him with tyranny and usurpation.

The commons returned to their house, immediately voted, that the king's speech should be taken into speedy consideration, and were so well pleased with the solemn security the king had given them as to their religion and property, that they voted him the very same revenue for his life, as had been enjoyed by the late king for his. They then voted, that the king should, by the whole house in a body, be thanked for his speech, in which the lords concurred, and it was



The House of Lords from the River

accordingly done the next day ; when they furthermore voted an address to his majesty, assuring him, they would stand by him with their lives and fortunes, against Argyle, his abettors, and all other traitors whatsoever ; which being presented accordingly to the king, he was pleased to answer, that he expected no less from a parliament so happily made up of monarchical and Church of England men, and that he should fear no enemy he either had or might have, while he had them on his side. And now all things seemed to smile with a very auspicious countenance, the king forbearing the least advances towards a change of religion, and seeming to be bent quite the contrary way.

In the midst of this, a motion was made in the house, on the 25th, that something now should be done to please the people, after so much had been done to gratify the king ; pointing at a proper security for the protestant religion ; upon which a debate arising, it was referred to the committee of religion. This committee, the next day, passed a vote, that the house should be moved by them, to resolve to stand by the king, with their lives and fortunes, for the defence of the religion of the church of England, as by law established : as also to present an address to the king, to issue out his royal proclamation, for putting the laws in execution against all dissenters of what denomination soever, ; and these votes, though in a very full committee, passed *nemine contradicente*.

But the next day, when the same came to be reported to the house, a debate took birth, whether the house should concur with the committee or not ? Against the question it was argued, that it was reminding the king of a neglect of his duty ; that the justices of

peace were in fault that the laws were not more duly executed ; that votes of this sort would alarm the kingdom, and might create a jealousy of the king, who had so solemnly declared his intentions to defend our religion ; that the king had told us, the way to keep a good understanding between him and his parliament, would be to use him well, and that he could not but take this amiss ; and finally, that it might be an encouragement to the rebels already in arms in the kingdom of Scotland, and so on. To this it was answered, that it would have but an indifferent look with the nation, if we, being members of the church of England, should let such commendable votes in favour of our religion drop unheeded : at length the previous question being put, whether to agree or not to agree with the committee, it was carried in the negative. The whole matter then was summed up in this vote, that an address should be made to the king, purporting that the house did entirely rely on his royal declaration, that he would defend and secure the reformed religion of the church of England, as by law established, by far dearer and nearer to them than their lives.

On the 30th of this month, we had information, that Argyle had penetrated into his own territories in the north of Scotland, with a body of 3000 men, and that he was fortifying himself there. The next day the king came to the house of lords, and passed the bill for the continuance of the revenue of excise and customs for his own life. Having done this he spoke to both houses, and thanked them for the cheerfulness and alacrity wherewith they had passed the same ; he said, their dispatch was as pleasing to him as the bill itself ;

but at the same time desired some extraordinary supply for the navy and ordnance stores, for paying off the late king's debts to his servants and family, and for defraying the charge he was like to be at in quelling the rebellion in Scotland ; he then recommended the navy to us, as the strength and glory of the nation ; assuring us he had a true English heart, jealous of the honour of the nation ; and that he pleased himself with the thoughts, by God's blessing, and their assistance, to raise the reputation of it in the world, higher than it had ever yet been in the days of any of his ancestors.

This speech being taken into consideration, it was, by a committee of the whole house, voted that a supply should be granted to his majesty for the use therein specified. While things were going on in this easy and harmonious manner, we had news from Lyme in Dorsetshire, that the Duke of Monmouth was landed in that neighbourhood, with arms for 20,000 men, together with officers and soldiers, to the number of about 200 ; that many of the people flocked in to him, from that factious country, and that he had declared himself the protector of the protestant religion, against popery. With all speed then the king sent down the Duke of Albemarle, the lord lieutenant of that part, to raise the militia ; and after him, some companies of the standing foot, and six troops of horse and dragoons. Lyme is naturally a safe and advantageous post, and was in Monmouth's power ; so that in two or three days more, we heard he was 300 strong ; but, at the same time, that the Duke of Albemarle had raised the militia, and was marching towards him with some 8000 men.

The king no sooner heard that Monmouth was landed, as we have said, than he communicated the same to the commons ; upon which they immediately voted him their thanks, and resolved in a body of the whole house, to wait on his majesty with their own address, wherein they promised to stand by him with their lives and fortunes, against that ungrateful rebel James Duke of Monmouth, and all others whosoever they might be ; such were the promising beginnings of this short and memorable reign. Soon after comes Monmouth's declaration, which the king, the next day, sent to both houses, who attended him that very day, and voted a reward of 5000*l.* to any body that should take him, and bring him to the king, dead or alive. This declaration charged James Duke of York, for so it stiled the king, with the burning of the city, the death of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, the morder of Sidney, and Lord Russell, with the poisoning of the late king, and tearing his crown from his head : it charged him also with being a slave to popish councils, and with packing the present parliament ; and that therefore he was come to revenge all these things on the pretended king ; that he would never hearken to any terms, or accomodation until his work was completed, and that as he was resolved to give no quarter to those that oppose him, he exhorted all good people to come in and assist him. To this he subjoined, that he had a just title to the crown, but that he would lay no claim to it until he had called a free parliament, to whom he was ready to give full satisfaction as to that matter ; that parliaments should sit every year, nor be dismissed until all grievances were redressed, and that he would grant liberty of conscience to all manner of



E. Scriven sculp.

THE DUKE of MONMOUTH.

From the Original in the Oak Room at Cashelbury.

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Published by E. Jeffery, 1806.

people, not excluding even the papists, and much more in the same strain.

Meanwhile, came news that Monmouth having marched out of the town of Lyme with 200 foot and 100 horse, had met with some of the Dorsetshire militia, fallen on them, killed several persons of note, and taken some prisoners. And now an additional supply is voted, for defraying the expence of the war, against the Duke of Monmouth. The house upon this occasion resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to consider of the ways and means for raising this new supply, voted that it should be levied upon such new foundations, as had been built upon within the compass of the bills of mortality, since the year 1660, excepting the late general fires in the city of London and borough of Southwark. Secondly, that it should be levied only upon the rents of the same houses for the term of one year. Thirdly, upon such foundations as were now laid. Fourthly, that there should be a clause to prevent any more buildings within the said limits. Fifthly, that the house should be moved that a bill might be brought in for that intent; in all which the house concurred with the committee.

The next day (June 18) the king sent to us, to desire we would give him credit upon some fund, for such a sum as we should think fit to grant him, towards the suppression of the rebellion in the west; and that we would prepare our business, so as to be in a condition to adjourn for some time, within a few days. Upon this we resolved again into a committee of the whole house, and voted him the sum of 400,000*l.* the sum agreed on the day before; and at the same time ap-

pointed a committee to inquire into, and bring in an estimate of the yearly value of the rents of the new buildings upon new foundations.

But notwithstanding all this, the court seemed to be much concerned at the increase of the Duke of Monmouth's forces, which were now reported to consist of 4000 foot, and four troops of horse, with which having marched towards Taunton, a populous and factious town, he made himself master thereof, two regiments of the militia running away, when they heard he was near the place; but the Duke of Albemarle had still orders not to fight till the standing troops had joined him, which it was supposed they would do upon the 20th instant; on which day also, some 2500 of the guards, horse and foot, marched to reinforce the troops that had before been sent to the Duke of Albemarle, commanded by Lord Feversham. The same day, the commons understanding it would be a tedious task to levy the necessary sums upon the new foundations, proceeded to shift the tax upon French linen, brandies, callicoes, &c.

But I cannot help observing, that my Lord Hallifax took it ill of me, that I had been so earnest for the taxing of the new buildings, he having a deep concern therein; but I told him it was my judgment, and that if my father's interest had been ever so much therein, I should have done the same thing; that, however, I was very sorry he, above all men in the world, should disapprove of any thing I did; but we presently understood each other, and he said he was very sorry he had said any thing to disturb me: this, though a transaction of quite a private nature, I could not forbear

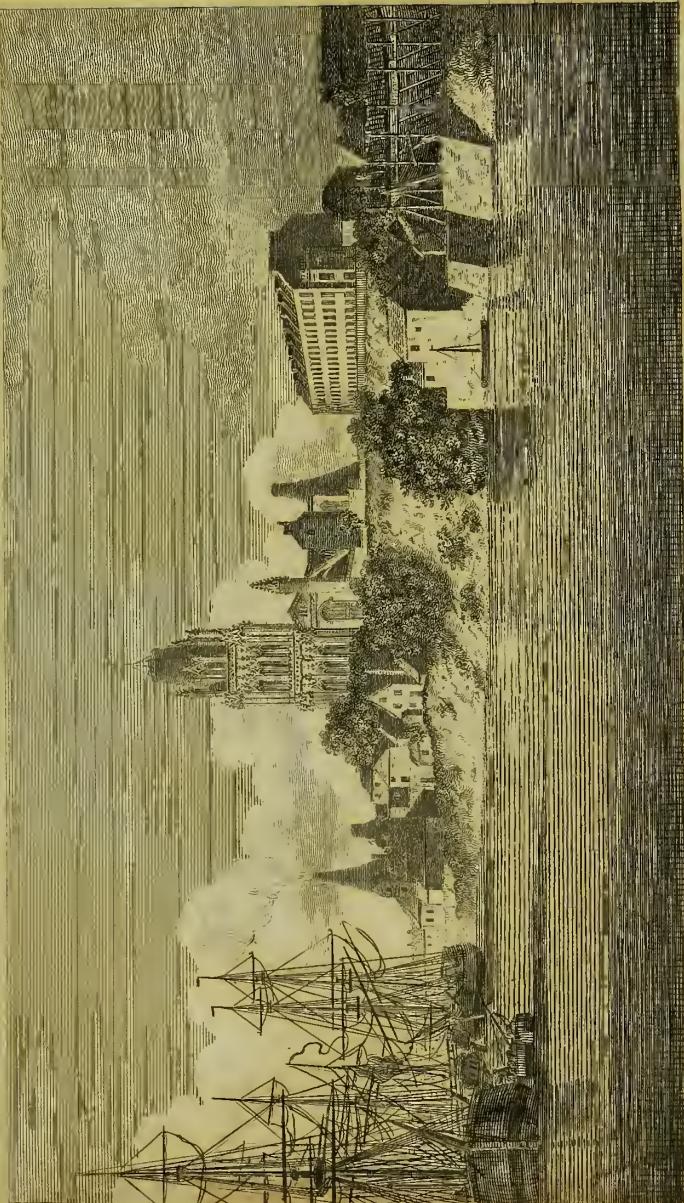
the mention of, as it was the only time we ever so much as seemed to differ. But to return to matters of more general importance.

On the 22d, his majesty had advice from Scotland, that the Earl of Dunbarton, commander in chief of his forces in that kingdom, having notice that the rebels had passed the river above Dunbarton, had marched from Glasgow to Stirling, and overtook them near the close of the day, but that in the night the rebels stole away from him into Renfrew; that the said earl then pursued them with his horse and dragoons, and understood that they were making away from him in very great confusion; that the same day three servants belonging to a gentleman of Renfrew, fell upon the Earl of Argyle, as he was getting away in the disguise of a countryman, with a blue bonnet on his head; and that they had wounded him in several places of the head; till at last, fearing they would kill him, he confessed himself to be the Earl of Argyle; and that thereupon they had taken him prisoner, and conducted him to Glasgow, where he was committed. The king sent an account of all this to the commons, who returned their thanks for the same, by such of their members as were of the privy council, who came back with this answer, that his majesty was every day more and more satisfied with them for their zeal and loyalty to his person and government, and that he gave them his thanks.

On the 23d, the king had notice, that Monmouth had sent a letter to the Duke of Albemarle, under the stile and title of his most trusty and well-beloved cousin and councillor, Christopher Duke of Albemarle, charging him upon his allegiance to come into

his aid and assistance ; in a word, that he now took upon him to be king ; that he was marched from Taunton towards Bristol with about 5000 men and boys, and that Albemarle was at his heels.

On the 24th, I happened to dine with Sir James Smith, the lord-mayor of London, whom I had formerly known intimately well, and who was of a very loyal club in the city, where I used to go, while the fanatic plot was in agitation. This gentleman complained to me, that he enjoyed no more than the bare title of lord-mayor, the lord chief justice, Jefferies, usurping the power ; that the city had no sort of intercourse with the king, but by the intervention of that lord ; that whatever was well done in the city, was attributed to his influence and management ; and that himself and the aldermen were, by the court, looked upon no better than his tools : that upon all occasions his lordship was so forgetful of the high dignity of the city, as to use him and his brethren with contempt ; in fine, that the lord chief justice was to be pitied ; that his haughtiness would be the ruin of him ; and that he actually intended to let the king into the mystery of these things ; but that he thought the present time was not altogether so proper, seeing a remonstrance of this tendency might be construed into mutiny and disaffection. I answered, that the king was too well acquainted with the lord-mayor's services and integrity to suspect him of that, and that, in my opinion, now was the fittest time for exposing a man in that credit at court ; for that now the greatest notice would be taken of all such grievances. Indeed I was sorry at my heart to see such good men dissatisfied in any degree ; but I was as glad to find this proud man



ST. MARY REDCLIFFE, BRISTOL.

seen through; for he had to my knowledge used the city of York as scurvily as it was possible for him to use the city of London. For at York he put out five aldermen, though he had solemnly engaged to keep them in, and that, without so much as allowing them to be heard as to the crimes they stood accused of. The lord-mayor said the very same had been frequently practised in London, and that many had been turned out of their employments without so much as being suffered to make their defence. In short, I was at the very same time told by one of the lieutenancy of the city, that should the Duke of Monmouth give a blow to the king's forces, it was much to be feared there would be an insurrection in London.

On the 2d of July, both houses attended the king in the house of lords, and his majesty having passed five bills, ordered the house to be adjourned to the 4th of August, which was done accordingly. And now the fears of those who were friends to the government, added to the hopes of those who were averse to it. The Duke of Monmouth's army was swelled to a body of 12,000 foot, and 1500 horse, which moved from place to place, in the hilly and inclosed country of the west, where, though the king's army kept pretty close in with them, they could not offer to give battle. The king's army, that was nearest to Monmouth, was commanded by Lord Feversham, and did not consist of above 3000 foot, and 500 horse, but then they were mostly of the guards. In a day or two the king had adviee, that Monmouth had got into Bridgewater, that he intended to fortify himself there whilst he refreshed his army, and that Lord Feversham was close after him.

On the 6th, the Duke of Monmouth being then informed, that Lord Feversham lay encamped at not above three miles from Bridgewater, that his army was as yet but small, that he was in expectation of being reinforced by three English, and three Scotch regiments from Holland, and that a body of horse was on its march from London to the same purpose ; he steals out about one in the morning, with his whole army, and moves towards the royal camp, and that with such silence and good order, that the king's people knew nothing of the approach till alarmed by the fire of one of their out-sentries. The Duke of Monmouth marched at the head of the foot, and Lord Grey led up the horse, and they brought their cannon to play within pistol-shot. On the other hand, our people got into order as fast, and received them as well as could be expected, but were so overpowered by numbers, that till Lord Grey went off with the horse, which were frightened at the cannon, we were in very imminent danger of losing the day : but for the Duke of Monmouth, he stood till a great part of his foot was cut to pieces, and then made off ; but so narrowly that his coat, his papers, and his secretary were taken. Ferguson, that arch-presbyterian priest and rebel, and Lord Grey was taken in disguise, three days afterwards.

The Duke of Monmouth had, from the very beginning of this desperate attempt, behaved with the conduct of a great captain, as was allowed even by the king, who, in my hearing, said he had not made one false step. And thus was this great storm, which gathered from a small cloud, the number that landed with the duke not exceeding 150 ; thus I say, was this

great storm fortunately, not to say surprisingly, allayed. Had Monmouth obtained a victory, it was much to be feared, that the disaffected would have risen in such numbers, in theseveral parts of England, as to have made the crown precarious. But to complete the king's good fortune, on the 9th came news, that the duke himself had been taken in disguise in a wood, by a parcel of country fellows who were in quest of him, together with one Count Horn, who being first discovered in a bush, told them the duke himself was not far off; and the same day the Duchess of Monmouth and her two sons were sent to the Tower. The duke, when he was taken, was almost spent, not having been in a bed for three weeks; he was quite unprovided with arms, nor made any defence, being destitute of every thing but a watch he had in his pocket, and about three hundred pounds in gold, which was all the money he had left. His majesty, and no wonder, was extremely well pleased at this news; but he was of a temper so very equal, that he never appeared transported upon any occasion; and surely he never could have a greater reason for it than now, that he saw the rebellion plucked up by the very roots, and himself firmer seated on the throne, by the endeavours that had been used to shake him out of it.

When his grace came to town, the king, at his own request, saw him at Whitehall, where he expressed some detestation of his attempt; threw the blame on the Earl of Argyle, and Ferguson, who had stirred him up to it; disclaiming all title to the crown, and said he was put upon assuming the stile of king, with a view that the quality would the sooner come in to him; all this I heard the king say, but what he farther

confessed, was not then known. He concluded with a desire of pardon, and, on his knees, begged his life of the king; and for the same, he, by letters, solicited the two queens, until his head was at five blows severed from his body, on Tower-hill. When he came to suffer, he submitted with great unconcern, renounced all pretensions to the crown, and unkindly, to say no worse, disowned his duchess, who to him, who had nothing of his own, had brought a fortune of ten thousand pounds a year; saying she was given to him as his wife in the days of his minority, but that the wife of his own choice, was the Lady Henrietta Wentworth, the only daughter and heiress of the Earl of Cleveland, whom he had debauched; with whom, he confessed, he had lived according to the rules of his own convenience, though not according to the laws of the land, for two years past. He then said he was sorry for the effusion of blood he had caused, but, throughout his whole discourse, made no mention of a rebellion; and out of his pocket were taken books, in his own handwriting, containing charms or spells to open the doors of a prison, to obviate the danger of being wounded in battle, together with songs and prayers: such was the latter end of the Duke of Monmouth.

Towards the close of this month, I returned to my government, where nothing occurring of a nature general enough to be worthy of public notice, I shall hurry on to the end of October, when we had the bad news, that my Lord Marquis of Halifax, lord president of the privy council, was fallen into disgrace with the king, and quite dismissed from the board; he had ever been a true and kind patron

to me ; but what was more, he was a man of great integrity and most happy talents, which made it feared the public might feel the want of him as sensibly as his friends ; but it being the king's pleasure, it became all good subjects to submit to it : but two or three days afterwards, being with the Archbishop of York and Sir Henry Gooderick, they told me, it was true the king had laid aside the lord president, but that he had assigned no cause for it ; and expressed some jealousy, that the king would offer at something this session, in favour of popery.

And now the term of the last adjournment being elapsed, on the 9th of November I repaired to London ; where I found the house of commons had deferred the consideration of the king's speech, on the day of their meeting, which was the 9th, to the 13th instant. The house of lords had voted their thanks ; but the commons being moved to the same, made head against it, as we have hinted. The king in this speech told the house he was glad to meet them in better times than when he parted with them ; that the rebellion was now perfectly quashed ; but that, however, the government might be in like manner attempted for the future, it being experienced, that the militia of the kingdom was of no use ; that therefore, as the standing force was but small, he had raised it to a considerable number, which would be an additional charge upon him, for the time to come ; that, in consideration thereof, he desired a proportionable aid : that it was true there were some popish officers in this army, but that he hoped it would make no difference between him and his parliament ; for that, though they were not qualified by

law, they were such as had shewn their principles by their loyalty; and that having had experience of this, he would not expose them to shame by parting with them, or to that effect; and that, in fine, he would venture his life for the true interest of the nation.

The 13th instant being come, the commons voted a supply to his majesty, for his present occasions; but would neither specify the *quantum*, nor the particular use it was designed for. Upon this a long debate arose, and the question being put, they divided, the noes being 250, and the ayes 125. They afterwards, the same day, came to a division upon the question, whether that house would first proceed upon the supply to the king, or upon the second paragraph of his majesty's speech, concerning the popish officers in the army; and it was carried for postponing the supply, by one voice only; in which division the king was told that several of his servants and officers of the army, that were of the house, were against him. The next day I waited on the king to kiss his hand, and immediately he asked me, when I came to town? I told him, the night before: he said, he was sorry I had not been here sooner, for that if I had, he should not have lost the day before, for one single vote, which he said was hard, and the more so, because it was owing to his own officers; which I took to be an oblique piece of admonition to me. This same day, the second part of the king's speech was taken into consideration, and the result was, that an address should be drawn up and presented to his majesty, to represent to him, that the reception of popish recusants into the army was quite contrary to law, and to desire that they might be removed from their posts. A committee was appointed for this

purpose, and likewise to frame a bill for the indemnifying the said officers, in consideration that they had entered into the service at a time of such imminent danger. Waiting this day on Lord Hallifax, he told me the particulars of his dismission: he said he might have continued with greater advantages than ever, if he could but in conscience have concurred in some things which he saw in embryo; that the king parted with him with seeming kindness, but would assign no cause for it, and that he would name nobody into his place. This lord being generally esteemed a wise man, and an excellent subject, the removal of him, especially in almost the infancy of parliament, was matter of astonishment to great numbers, and injected a fear that a change of councils was in consequence to ensue a change of councillors.

On the 16th, the debate concerning the aid to be granted to his majesty came on. The motion was at first for two hundred thousand pounds, and then four hundred thousand pounds on the part of the country; while those of the court insisted on twelve hundred thousand pounds, for the payment of the new raised forces, for a term of five years to come. But the house would give no ear to such an application of the money they might give, lest it should prove a foundation for the support of a standing army; they rather chose to give it to the king to do with it as he would; and at length seven hundred thousand pounds was proposed, and granted. In the course of this debate, the usefulness of a standing army, especially till the ferment of rebellion was quite settled, was much insisted on by the one side, while the other exposed the danger of it, the insolency of the soldiery, the ill

example they were of to the country, and the heavy burthen of free quarters : but there was a compromise of all this, by the house's declaring its intention to make the militia of more use for the time to come, and until then it was agreed on, as a thing necessary, that the army should be kept on foot.

The address against popish officers being prepared, was this day read, and agreed to ; but a debate arose, whether the concurrence of the lords should be desired or not: the courtiers were against it, that the king might have the better excuse not to comply with it, and the country gentlemen were, for that reason, for enforcing it the more ; and upon this occasion I divided with the country, but we lost it by some forty voices. The next day we considered of the ways and means for raising the seven hundred thousand pounds we had granted, and the same day we went in a body, with our address to the king, who had appointed that to be the time for his receiving it: but his answer was, that he did not expect such an address from such a house of commons, especially as he had so lately offered to our consideration the great advantages of an union between him and us, the good effects of which had been already experienced. “ I had (said he) “ reason to hope the reputation God has blessed me “ with in the world, might have created and confirmed “ in you, a greater confidence of me, and of all I say “ to you : but however you, on your part, proceed, I, “ on mine, shall be steady to all the promises I have “ made, and be very just to my word given in every “ one of my speeches :” this he uttered with great warmth.

On the 18th, the house consulted on the means to

make the militia of more effectual service for the future, but the debate was adjourned to the 21st instant. At the same time it was moved by Mr. Wharton, eldest son to the Lord Wharton, that a day might be appointed for the consideration of the king's answer to our address ; which was seconded by Mr. Cook, of Derbyshire, a gentleman of three thousand pounds per annum, who was so warm as, upon this occasion, to say, we were all Englishmen, and that he hoped we should not be frightened from our duty by a few high words : but the house resented this as an expression of great indecency, and, in great anger, sending their member to the Tower, deferred the business *sine die*.

The next day, the lords began to consider that part of his majesty's speech, relating to popish officers, and grew very warm in their debate, which was adjourned to the 23d instant. The king happened to be present, as he was generally constant in the house of lords, and was much concerned at the freedom which they said was used upon this subject. And, in truth, it gave great dissatisfaction, that the law in this point particularly, would be thus invaded and set at nought ; and the very best of the king's friends, as well as his officers, whether civil or military, except such as were popishly inclined, were strangely alarmed thereat, and expressed themselves with great freedom whenever it happened to be the topic of their discourse.

In the midst of this, (on the 20th) the king, in the usual state, comes, and, by the lord chancellor, acquaints both houses, that for certain weighty reasons, his majesty thought fit to prorogue this parliament until the 10th of February next ; and that it was prorogued accordingly. This gave birth to many con-

jectures : some said the king had so good a revenue, and was so good a manager, that he had it in his power to subsist both his fleet and his army without more money ; and that therefore he would scarce have occasion for any more parliaments ; that this seemed the more likely, as he had, by this prorogation, refused the sum of seven hundred thousand pounds, which the commons were preparing to give him : while others believed the king would certainly meet us again, at the term prefixed, and that, in the mean time, he would find out some expedient to satisfy the houses as to the only article they complained of, meaning the affair of the popish officers ; which though it was said, might be shrewdly doubted, seeing that some of the gentlemen, who had signalized themselves for the address, were forbidden the king's presence, which was the case of Mr. Fox, paymaster to the army, Lieutenant Colonel Darcy, Major Webb, and others we need not mention.

To pass over Lord Brandon's trial and condemnation, for the concern he had had with the Duke of Monmouth, we must now observe, that the popish party behaved with great insolence ; which was the more remarked, as the king of France was now in the height of persecuting his protestant subjects, who many of them fled as they could, poor and naked ; being stripped of all they had. This so great and cruel an instance of the spirit that, for the most part, possesses those of this delusive persuasion, was now the talk of all thinking people, who began to be of opinion, that every thing just and lawful, ought to be done to obviate the growth, and abate the present pride of the papists in our dominions. But the king,



Painted by Sir G. Kneller.

John Churchill Duke of Marlborough.

Engraved by John Henry Robinson.

London, No 26, the Strand, Sector 12, a.m., 1822.

W. & S.

as if he had a mind to shew us his disposition for clemency, declared, on the 2d of December, he had reprieved the Lord Brandon, who was to have been executed three days afterwards ; which, it must be owned, was a great act of mercy in his majesty, this lord having been pardoned in the late reign, for breaking a boy's neck, when he was in his cups, of which being convicted, he was condemned as guilty of murder.

At this time, the favourites at court began to be at strife with each other ; the Lord Sunderland was made president of the council, and continued secretary of state ; his lordship having artfully insinuated to the queen, (he had then a misunderstanding with the treasurer,) that the friends and relations of the king's first wife, as Rochester, Clarendon, Dartmouth, and others, were in greatest favour, and in possession of the best places, while her friends, though she was queen consort, were but slenderly provided for ; and her friends being reckoned to be, Lord Sunderland, the Lord Chancellor, and the Lord Churchill, they began to play their private batteries against each other.

I, for my part, had seen so many changes backwards and forwards, so many of both great and small removed and shifted about, that I must confess the thoughts thereof began to damp the flight of my ambition ; and made me conclude, there was a time when every sober man would chuse to retire and be content with what he had, rather than venture his substance and conscience upon the uncertain hazard of augmenting his wealth ; not that I found the king any way altered with regard to myself, or that I despaired of keeping my ground, though my great and good friend was out ;

on the contrary, could I but have strained to the pitch some did, I am persuaded I had a fairer opportunity of raising myself than ever I had ; but I preferred a certain safety to an uncertain grandeur.

But things now, with regard to those who enjoyed any posts under the government, seemed to be carried to a very extraordinary length ; for Fox, the paymaster of the army, whose employ was valued at ten thousand pounds per annum, and Colonel John Darcy, grandchild and heir to the Earl of Holderness, having offended the king by their votes in the lower house, and having been thereupon forbidden the king's presence, were now wholly laid aside ; and it was now said that in council it had been agreed, that all persons, who for the future offended in the same way, would be served in the same manner, which startled a number of people. And now it was observed, that the lord treasurer was more lowly and obliging than usual, whence it was conjectured that the odds were against him, and as much was confessed by some even of his friends ; his lordship now setting up for the protestant interest, and the queen and her friends for the popish.

Besides the gentlemen I have already named, there were several other members dismissed from their employments, for not voting as the king expected they should, and particularly such as were officers in the army, who being not only so, but also great and very eminent for their families and services to the crown, it was matter of great wonder to every body. But what surprised me as much as any thing was to hear, from the Archbishop of York, that Lord Marquis of Halifax was coming again into play ; an agreeable





CHRIS^R DUKE of ALBEMARLE,
from a Scarce Print by Becket.

Pub 1811 by W. Richardson, York House Strand.

surprise this, especially as the times seemed to turn ; but the very next day, I had the mortification to understand, from the marquis's own mouth, that there was no manner of foundation for the report. The Duke of Albemarle now told me several things concerning the state of affairs, which astonished me very much : gentlemen were now in a most unprecedented manner assaulted in the very streets ; one had a powder thrown into his eyes, which deprived him of sight ; another had his throat cut by two men, though neither of these gentlemen had given the least visible provocation or offence to the aggressors ; and the Duke of Albemarle was met by a gentleman who threatened him as his grace was going along in his chair. And now it was whispered, " that the king would still farther prorogue the parliament till May ;" which certainly was the wisest course he had, at this time, to take, if he could not resolve to give some proper satisfaction to the houses, with regard to the popish officers ; but that this was far from his thoughts, and quite contrary to his intention, appeared by a late admission of several others of that superstition into military posts. In short, the king unhappily persisting in his own way, discharged his anger against the Bishop of London, a most worthy prelate, brother to the late Earl of Northampton, putting him away from the council-board, on account of a speech he had, the last sessions, made in the house of lords, concerning the popish officers ; though, as I was told by the Archbishop of York, it was spoken with all the deference and respect imaginable. This decent speech was by some said to be the cause of his lordship's dismissal ; but others attributed it to his in-

dustry, in keeping the Princess of Denmark within the pale of the protestant church, in opposition to some extraordinary endeavours to get her over to that of the church of Rome.

On the 14th of January, 1685-6, my Lord Delamere was tried by a particular commission, directed to the lord high-steward, and thirty other peers. The crime laid to his charge was conspiring to raise a rebellion, and to subvert the government, in conjunction with the Duke of Monmouth, and other false traitors: and so on. I happened to sit near the king during the whole trial: but the only positive evidence against his lordship, was one Saxton, an obscure fellow, who swore that about the time of the Duke of Monmouth's landing, he was recommended by the Lord Brandon, to the Lord Delamere, and discoursed with him at his house in Cheshire, upon the 4th of June, Sir Robert Cotton and another gentleman being present; that their conversation was about assistance being given to the said duke; and that his lordship should say, "he was engaged to "raise 10,000 men in his cause; but that he could "not effect it so soon as he had promised, because "of a present want he was under of money." What the other witnesses had to alledge, was all circumstance and hearsay: some said the Duke of Monmouth had told them, he depended upon help from Lord Macclesfield, Lord Brandon, and Lord Delamere; and that they would be ready to rise in Cheshire, as soon as he landed: others swore that the duke had written and sent messages to his friends in London, to give notice to the lords to be ready; and that he was preparing for England. In

the course of this trial, a point of law never before heard of, was started, by the lord high-steward, and the solicitor-general; namely, that though there were but one positive evidence, in a case of high treason, if the rest, though but circumstantial, concurred therewith, it was sufficient to find a prisoner guilty: for example; supposing one man should hear another say, he intended to kill the king upon such a day, and that another swears he saw the party lie in wait to prosecute his intention; the evidence is sufficient. But whatever there might be in this law, it was by no means applicable to the prisoner; for he most convincingly disproved the main evidence, Saxton, and, by the clearest testimony, made it appear, that neither the two gentlemen nor himself were upon the spot upon the 4th of June; that two of them were then actually in London, and the other sixteen miles off: he urged also, that if the man had sworn nothing but truth against him, he could be no legal witness, being himself a prisoner, and taken in rebellion when Monmouth was routed, and consequently under a temptation to swear against him, to save his own life. Upon the whole he was acquitted, every one of the peers declaring him not guilty. There were those who condemned the lawyers, who had advised the king to bring a peer to trial upon so slender a foundation; while others observed, that, as the king had committed him to prison, it was but fit he should be brought to a public trial, lest it should be said he had been detained when nothing appeared against him. But when all was over, I plainly saw the king was in great rage with Saxton, and the next day he declared, he should be first

convicted for perjury, and then hanged for high-treason.

A few days afterwards, (Jan. 18th) I dined with the lord-chancellor, where the lord-mayor of London was a guest, and some other gentlemen. His lordship having, according to custom, drank deep at dinner, called for one Montfort, a gentleman of his, who had been a comedian, an excellent mimic, and to divert the company, as he was pleased to term it, he made him plead before him in a feigned cause, during which he aped all the great lawyers of the age, in their tone of voice, and in their action and gesture of body, to the very great ridicule not only of the lawyers, but of the law itself, which, to me, did not seem altogether so prudent in a man of his lofty station in the law; diverting it certainly was, but prudent in the lord high-chancellor, I shall never think it:—but let us step to the king.

It was now known, that Mrs. Sidley, who had been the king's mistress, and had several children by him when Duke of York, but whom he had deserted for a while when he came to the crown, was as much in his favour as ever; for he created her Countess of Dorchester, and visited her frequently; which gave the queen a great deal of uneasiness; but there was no help for it; till at length her majesty's party and priests did so importune the king, and so pressingly remonstrate to him the sin of this amour, and, what was worse, the disparagement it would throw on their religion, that it was reported he would abandon his mistress, and that he had sent her word, either to retire into France, or to expect to have her pension of four thousand pounds a year withdrawn.

To resume the lord-chancellor once again ; he had now like to have died of a fit of the stone, which he virtuously brought upon himself by a furious debauch of wine, at Mr. Alderman Duncomb's; where he, the lord-treasurer, and others, drank themselves into that height of frenzy, that, among friends, it was whispered they had stripped into their shirts, and that, had not an accident prevented them, they had got upon a sign-post, to drink the king's health ; which was the subject of much derision, to say no worse.

The term the parliament was prorogued to being expired, the members of the house of commons, and the lords, met in their respective places. The commons that appeared, were to the number of about one hundred and fifty ; and being summoned by the black rod to appear in the house of lords, a commission directed to the lord-chancellor, lord-treasurer, and others, empowering them, or any of them, to prorogue the parliament till the 10th of May next, was read, and the parliament was prorogued accordingly.

Though it could not be as yet said, that the king had made any notable invasion on the rights of the church of England, he recurred to all the methods he could contrive and practise for the increase of his own ; by putting more papists into office in this kingdom, but especially in Ireland ; by causing, or at least allowing popish books to be printed, and sold, and cried about publicly ; by publishing some popish papers found in the late king's closet ; by a declaration that his late majesty died a papist, and in what manner ; by an account of the conversation of the late late Duchess of York, together with her reasons

for the same, as written by herself: by a letter or order to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to direct the clergy of his province to preach a good life, but never to meddle with controversies in their sermons; by sending the Lord Castlemain upon a solemn embassy to the pope, and by much more of the same nature and tendency; which made it expected that more would infallibly follow.

Accordingly, on the 29th of April, 1686, being the first of the term, a great change was made among the judges in Westminster-hall: there was a new chief-justice of the common pleas, and another new judge of the same bench; there was a new chief-baron; in fine, four new judges of the several courts. This made a considerable noise, as the gentlemen now displaced were of great learning and loyalty, and whose only crime had been, they would not give their opinions, as several of their brethren had done, "that the king by his prerogative might dispense with the test required of Roman-catholics." The next day I was informed by Mr. Jones, son to the chief-justice of that name, lately turned out, that his father, upon his dismissal, observed to the king, that he was by no means sorry he was laid aside, old and worn out as he was in his service; but concerned, that his majesty should expect such a construction of the law from him, as he could not honestly give; and that none but indigent, ignorant, or ambitious men, would give their judgment as he expected; and that to this his majesty made answer, it was necessary his judges should be all of one mind. He told me farther, that Sir Robert Sawyer, the attorney-general, had been directed by the king to

draw up a warrant, by virtue of his prerogative, to invest a priest of the church of Rome with a benefice, and to confirm one Walker, head of a house in Oxford, and some fellows of the same, who had erred over to the papal communion, by a *non obstante*: that the attorney said this would not be against one statute only, but against all the laws since the days of Elizabeth; that he therefore durst not do it, and desired the king to weigh the matter a little with himself; for that it struck at the very root of the protestant church, quite contrary to his majesty's late gracious promises; in short, that the attorney farther said, he doubted not but as soon as another could be found to do the work, he should lose his place; such a slave was the king to the priesthood of Rome.

But whatever the attorney at present expected, the solicitor Finch was turned out on the 5th of May, and one Powis appointed in his stead, who was ready and willing to do what the other refused; which was to draw up a warrant for confirming of Walker in his office of head of University-college in Oxford, and three fellows of the same; and another in behalf of the parson of Putney, which afterwards passed the great seal, though the parties were papists as strong as could be. And to complete, as it were, all, most of the protestant officers in the army in Ireland were removed, and papists substituted in their stead.

On the 10th of May, the term of prorogation being elapsed, it was by commission continued to the 22d of November following. The king said this morning, in his bedchamber, that many of the politicians of the house of commons were come up, in fear he should

surprize them with doing of business ; but that he would not do by them, as they had been wont to do with the crown : a very extraordinary speech. But, three days afterwards, taking my leave of the Lord Dover, late Henry Jermin, Esq., a papist and great favourite, he told me the parliament would certainly meet at the time last limited, and that if they would not comply with the king, they were to look to the issue. In short, the king having lately got him a jesuit for his confessor, drove on at a great rate, and seemed by far more intent than before upon promoting and spreading his own religion. In a word, he was now resolved to protect those of his own implicit faith at all adventures, a notable instance of which was exhibited on the 21st of June, in the case of Sir Edward Hales, a profest papist, to whom the king having given a regiment of foot, he was this term sued upon the statute, for five-hundred pounds, he keeping his employment without the qualification required. Upon which occasion it was agreed by all the judges, Baron Street excepted, that the king had a power to dispense with all penal statutes, and that his majesty, enjoying alone the power, was the only judge in the case ; and so Sir Edward pleading the king's pardon, obtained the better of the prosecution ; an event which gave great surprize, and occasioned much discourse the whole kingdom over.

Notwithstanding what had been so confidently assured me concerning the sitting of parliament, a proclamation was issued out on the 15th of October, for the still farther prorogation of it from the 22d of November to the 14th of the February following. After this, the king continued his course of displacing pro-





testants in favour of their enemies the papists, and I expected when it was to be my turn ; for I had frequent alarms of that sort ; every post brought us account of officers both civil and military deprived of employment ; of some who resigned their commissions and places ; but the most general accounts were of persons actually discarded, and that papists were, for the most part, put in to succeed them. Lord Clarendon, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, was recalled, and Mr. Talbot, a rigid Irish papist, a little before created Earl of Tyrconnel, sent over in his room ; which made so dreadful an impression upon many protestants of that kingdom, that they either left or sold their estates as they could, and came over into England. Mr. Saville, vice-chamberlain to the king, and who had been of his bedchamber when Duke of York, and since then ambassador in France, was put out of all employment.

Leaving the public affairs for a while, at this untoward pass, I would venture to take notice of a private occurrence which made some noise at York. The assizes being there held on the 7th of March, 1686-7, an old woman was condemned for a witch. Those who were more credulous in points of this nature than myself, conceived the evidence to be very strong against her. The boy she was said to have bewitched, fell down on a sudden before all the court, when he saw her, and would then as suddenly return to himself again, and very distinctly relate the several injuries she had done him : but in all this it was observed, the boy was free from any distortion ; that he did not foam at the mouth, and that his fits did not leave him gradually, but all at once ; so that, upon the whole, the judge thought it proper to reprieve her, in

which he seemed to act the part of a wise man. But though such is my own private opinion, I cannot help continuing my story. One of my soldiers being upon guard about eleven in the night, at the gate of Clifford Tower, the very night after the witch was arraigned, he heard a great noise at the castle, and going to the porch, he there saw a scroll of paper creep from under the door, which, as he imagined by moonshine, turned first into the shape of a monkey, and thence assumed the form of a turkey-cock, which passed to and fro by him. Surprized at this, he went to the prison, and called the under-keeper, who came and saw the scroll dance up and down and creep under the door, where there was scarce an opening of the thickness of half a crown. This extraordinary story I had from the mouth of both the one and the other: and now leave it to be believed or disbelieved, as the reader may be inclined this way or that.

It is fit we observe, that the way of dealing with men, who proposed any business to themselves in the government, and especially the members of both houses of parliament, that were in possession of places and near the king, was thus: his majesty took them aside, and told them the test-act was made in the height of faction, not so much in prejudice to the Roman-catholics in general, as to himself in particular, and to obviate his rightful accession; that while that, and the penal laws remained in force, no soul of that persuasion could be safe; that it was against all municipal law, for free-born subjects to be excluded the service of their prince, or for a prince to be restrained from employing such subjects as he thought for his service; and that therefore he hoped they would be so loyal as

not to refuse him their voices for annulling such unreasonable laws. Every man that persisted in a refusal to comply with this suggestion, was sure to be outed.

The time for the meeting of the parliament now drawing near, and several of the members neglecting to repair to London; the king ordered the judges, in their several circuits, to feel the pulses of the men; in consequence of which I was, to my great surprize, accosted at York by the judge, who told me, he had orders to talk with me upon the subject. I asked him if his majesty had made particular mention of my name; to which replying, that he had only received a general order from the king, to sound the inclinations of the several gentlemen who sat in parliament, and that he had had a particular instruction from the chancellor only, as to myself by name; I desired time to consider of it, and the next morning returned for answer, that I perceived a denial would be construed into disloyalty; that I had so lately waited on the king, and given such assurance of my integrity, that I could not apprehend his majesty could harbour any doubt as to me, and the rather, as he had not been pleased to make use of my name; that I could not conceive myself obliged to declare myself to any body else: but that if his majesty should think fit to say any thing to me farther than he had already, when I had the honour of waiting on him next, which I intended should be speedily, I would so consult my loyalty and my conscience, as to give him all the satisfaction in my power: the judge told me he would make report of what I had said; and did not seem to be very forward in pressing a compliance: he had his orders, and he obeyed them. I deemed this to be the most prudent

reply I could at this time make; for had I answered in the affirmative, I might have incurred the displeasure and censure of the greatest part of the nation; if in the negative, I should have utterly disengaged the king; a caution the more necessary to be taken, as there was no likelihood there would be any meeting of parliament, to control him in his conduct. However, I believe that in all cases of this nature it is safest to unbosom one's self to the prince in person, and as much as possible avoid the danger that may arise from the treachery, the prejudice, or the ignorance of a reporter.

In consequence of this examination of the members, a number of vacancies ensued, and among others that were deprived, was Herbert, the vice-admiral of England, and master of the robes: he, in those days, enjoying places to the value of three thousand pounds a year. The king having threatened, and put his threats in execution, and also made use of the most plausible persuasions, to draw the majority of parliament into his own way of thinking, as to the test and penal laws, and all to no sort of purpose, cared not to see them assembled at the time seemingly appointed; and therefore, on the 18th of March, declared in council, that for divers weighty considerations the parliament stood prorogued to the 22d of the November following. His majesty, upon the same occasion declared, that it having been found impracticable to effect an uniformity in religion, though it had been the great endeavour of four of his predecessors successively, assisted as much as possible by their parliament; and that such attempts having been experienced to be highly prejudicial to the kingdom, witness the fatality of the rebellion in his father's time; he was now de-

terminated to issue out a declaration in favour of all sorts of dissenters, that they might enjoy the free practice of their own religion: hoping it might contribute to the general peace and quiet of the kingdom, the increase of the people, and the advancement of trade. But whatever the reasons alledged were, it appeared to most men, that a deep design was laid to sap the foundations of the church of England, nor could her sons but dread some extraordinary shocks; though some there were, who apprehending no very extraordinary consequence of these machinations, believed such a toleration might be of public emolument, if considered in a political view; which was by much the most specious side of the building; which shall close up this year.

At length the declaration for liberty of conscience made its appearance with us in the north, on the 7th of April 1687; gilded over with the taking pretence of tenderness, on the part of his majesty, towards all his subjects whatsoever; containing an invitation to all strangers of every sect to come among us: pretending a farther improvement of our trade, and promising protection to the bishops and ministers of the church of England, in their rights, privileges, and immunities, as also the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion in all their churches. But all this was too well understood to divide the protestant churches, *divide et impera*, that so the papists might with the more ease possess themselves of the highest place; which the presbyterians or Calvinists, who had most of them began to conform, seemed to be well aware of; and therefore continued to resort to our churches, though the anabaptists, quakers, and independants

thought it worth their while to return their addresses of thanks and acknowledgment. Elated, seemingly, with this, the king goes on in his old course of displacing gentlemen that had posts, but particularly such as were of the parliament, and obstinate enough to withstand his wishes; and now the parliament being prorogued, it was not thought worth the trouble to inquire which way any body stood inclined, so that the late question concerning the test and penal laws was dropped, or at least suspended. All this inequality of usage wrought but upon few protestants either of estate or quality to change their faith, little or not at all allured by the baits thrown in their way, or terrified by the king's frowns and implacable displeasure: honour therefore now was the grand bulwark of our religion, gentlemen disdaining to have thought they could sacrifice the sweets of conscience to the mercenary views of a reward. In the midst of this, dies the Duke of Buckingham, a man once of vast estate, and oftentimes in high favour with the late king, though never with the present; a man of the most exquisite wit of his time, the handsomest, and best bred; but unfortunately given up to pleasures, unsteady in his ways, and, in all respects, an enemy to himself.

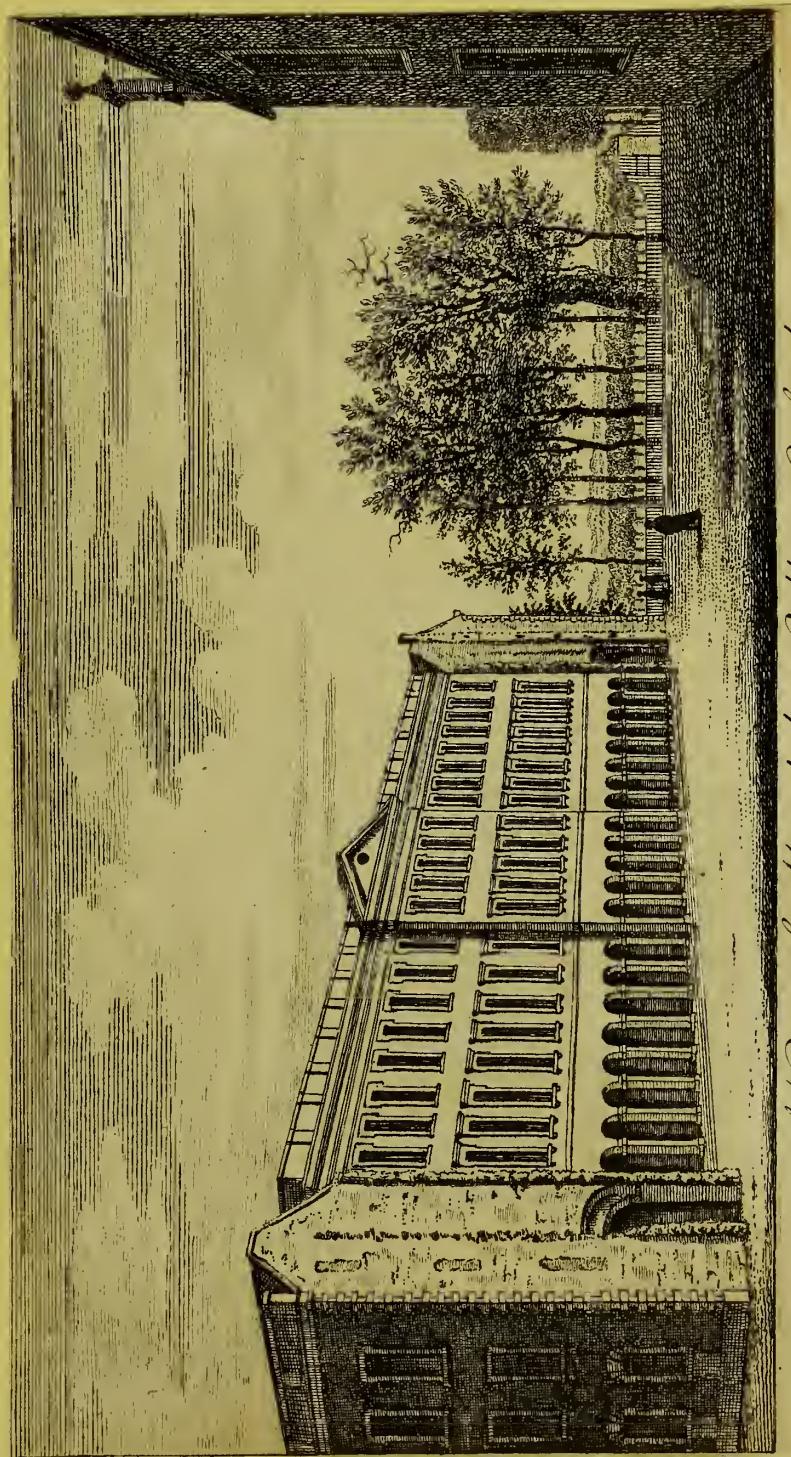
While addresses of thanks were every day presented to the king, on the part of the various denominations of dissenters, and from some even of the church of England; I had frequent alarms that the papists were in a way of persuading the king to grant them the manor of York, as a seminary for the instruction of youth in the principles of their faith; and on the 24th of June I heard it was granted accordingly to one

Lawson, a priest, for a term of thirty years. Surprized at this, I wrote to the Lord Bellassis, the principal commissioner of the treasury, remonstrating, that I had had it by my commission of governor, granted to myself by the late king, and confirmed by this; that it was worth sixty pounds a year to me, and that it had cost me above two hundred pounds in repairs, since I had enjoyed it; and that as I had been allowed nothing for this expence, I desired it might be either continued to me, or that his majesty would be graciously pleased to grant me such a compensation in lieu thereof, and consider me in my disbursement, in such manner and proportion, as in his great justice and wisdom he should think fit. A few days afterwards, a proclamation came to hand, bearing date the 2d of July, whereby the king dissolved the parliament, and at once stunned the main body of the nation. The next day, the pope's nuncio being to make his public entry at Windsor, the Duke of Somerset, one of the lords of the bedchamber in waiting, refused attendance at that solemnity; for which he was forbidden the court, and deprived of all his places: the same fate befel five of the six gentlemen of the privy-chamber, for the self-same cause; so that every hour things looked worse and worse. A while after I had a letter from Lord Feversham, to acquaint me, that according to my desire, he had spoke to the king concerning the manor of York; but that he had found he had promised it to father Lawson, for the uses above specified; that his majesty told him, he did not know I lived in it, and that if I had been at any charge in repairs, I should be considered for the same; but added, for my present comfort, that was I not so good a man as he took me

to be, he would not have kept a governor at York so long as he had done. But I shortly after had another letter from the same lord, to tell me that the lords-commissioners of the treasury had so represented the business to the king, at Windsor, that no positive resolution was as yet taken.

In the midst of the impending dangers which seemed to threaten us, there was a nobleman, the Marquis of Winchester, who had by his conduct persuaded some people to think him mad, though he certainly acted upon principles of great human prudence. This gentleman passing through Yorkshire, in his way to London, I went to pay him a visit. He had four coaches and an hundred horses in his retinue, and staid ten days at a house he borrowed in our parts. His custom was to dine at six or seven in the evening, and his meal always lasted till six or seven the next morning; during which he sometimes drank; sometimes he listened to music; sometimes he fell into discourse; sometimes he took tobacco, and sometimes he ate his victuals; while the company had free choice to sit or rise, to go or come, to sleep or not. The dishes and bottles were all the time before them on the table; and when it was morning, he would hunt or hawk, if the weather was fair; if not, he would dance, go to bed at eleven, and repose himself till the evening. Notwithstanding this irregularity, he was a man of great sense, and though, as I just now said, some took him to be mad, it is certain his meaning was to keep himself out of the way of more serious censure in these ticklish days, and preserve his estate, which he took great care of.

On the 12th of September the president of Magdalén-college in Oxford, being dead, the king sent



A View of. Magdalen College, Oxford.



THE MARQUISS OF WINCHESTER

1st Duke of Bolton.

them his *mandamus*, requiring them to choose the bishop of that city in his stead; but they answered, *locus plenus est*. The king taking Oxford in his progress, and the master and fellows of that college waiting on him, he told them, “ the people of the church of England had used him ill; that they had behaved neither as gentlemen or good subjects; and ordered them to go presently back to their election and choose the bishop, or he would let them feel how heavy a hand a king had.” They went, but returned this answer: “ that they were sorry they should be so unfortunate as to fall under his majesty’s displeasure; but that they could not proceed to a new choice without actual commission of wilful perjury, and thereupon hoped he would excuse them.” Now, in this progress, it was an observation generally made, that the king courted the dissenters, and discountenanced the church of England: for, the papists being by no means a body of themselves numerous enough to cope with the national church, he thought to strengthen them by a junction with the dissenters, whom he blinded with his liberty of conscience, and with telling them that he desired a repeal of the test and penal laws for their ease and security, as much as in behalf of the papists.

A strange look it had, that the very people, who had lately been so indefatigably busy to divest him of his right, and even to deprive him of life; it having been, in one parliament, attempted to impeach him of high-treason, upon the statute against a reconciliation with the church of Rome; I say it looked strange, that these very men should be preferred to those who had preserved him out of their hands, not in parliament only, but in the field also: but it seems, all consider-

ations are of no worth or validity with a hearty zeal for the priesthood of Rome, and that oblivion is so far from being ingratitude, that it is highly to be commended, a most salutary expedient, when for the advantage of mother church.

In pursuance of this very ill doctrine, on the 28th of September the king puts out several aldermen, who had ever signalized themselves by their fidelity and loyalty, who had adhered to him with the greatest constancy in the very worst of times; and, what is worse, they were aldermen of the city of London, they were members of the church of England; and nonconformists filled their places. Doctor Hough, president of Magdalen-college, is now put out, by certain visitors appointed by the king for that purpose, for that he was elected by the statutes, in contradiction to the king's *mandamus*; but the doctor stoutly refused to quit, till compelled by force, and then appealed from the visitors to the king in Westminster-hall.

At this time it was my turn to feel a part of the storm which had hitherto blown over me, or at some distance on each side from me. On the 5th of November, I received a letter from father Lawson, the priest I formerly mentioned, to give me notice, that the king having made him a grant of his house, the manor of St. Mary's in York, for the honour of God and the good of his people, he expected from my usual civility, that I would give him free and easy possession. To which I answered, that I held it by virtue of a commission that constituted me governor of York; that he could not think I would divest myself of it by my own act and deed; that I had too great a veneration for the king's bounty, and was too proud of his service,

to do that; but that if his majesty positively commanded it, I should have nothing to do but to obey; with this reserve, however, that if his majesty gave it away, I hoped, and in justice it was a duty incumbent on him to endeavour it, I was to have some equivalent for the loss. Several letters passed between us, till at length the Earl of Feversham sent me word, that it was actually granted; while Lawson flattered me with expectations that the king would consider me one way or other, and informed me of several things his majesty should say of me.

At length, on the 7th of December, father Lawson comes in person, and claims possession. It being in vain to contest with him, I ordered my housekeeper to give him admittance; but he left it again for the present, till I could move my goods. The clear profits of this place to me, besides the use of the house for myself and friends, and grass and hay for my horses while I staid in town, amounted to about forty pounds a year. After this, I expected the rest would soon follow; for the king had caused or ordered the lord-lieutenants of most, if not all, of the counties in England, to call together their deputies and the justices of the peace, and ask them these three questions: 1. If in case the king should call a parliament, and they should be chosen members of it; whether or no they would vote to take away the test and penal laws? 2. Whether or no they would give their vote for such members as they believed would be for the repeal for the same? 3. Whether or no they would live peaceably, and as Christians ought to live, with such as differed from them in religion? Some lord-lieutenants who refused to comply with this order, were turned out, to give place to papists; and the de-

puty-lieutenants and justices of the peace, who did not return a satisfactory answer, were for the most part divested of office.

This certainly was pushing the point by much too far, nor could men forbear wondering to what purpose it could be meant ; for what answer could any gentleman pretend to give, till he had heard the reasonings and debates of the house ? And who could pretend to answer for the man he voted to be a member ; or pretend to be sure of what sort of a mind he would be when he got to his seat in the house ? If the general inclination had been to deceive the king, how easy was it for men to express themselves one way and resolve another ? Besides, it was striking at the very foundation of parliaments, thus to pre-engage the members, who, according as things, upon their meeting, appeared to them, are by the laws of the land allowed freedom of speech, and freedom of judgment. But the most general answer that was returned by the protestants of the church of England was, that they, if of the house, would so vote, as the reasons of the debate should prevail with them ; that they would vote for such as they thought would do the same ; and that they would live quietly with all men as good Christians and loyal subjects. About this time there were great removes of officers, civil and military, and most corporations were purged of their church-of-England aldermen, and papists or dissenters appointed to succeed them. The king, however, soon after seemingly abated of the rigour of this scrutiny, though the lord-lieutenants continued the inquiry in most counties, but with very little success.

While this was transacting in England, the French

king was engaged in a high dispute with his holiness of Rome, concerning the immunities and franchises of ambassadors in that city, which, though all the princes of the catholic religion submitted to the regulation of, the King of France would not. His ambassador, who would have demanded the antient rights, was denied audience, and persisting in the thing, was declared excommunicated; the cardinals were forbidden to visit him as an ambassador; and the church of St. Lewis, reputed the parochial church of the French nation, whither the ambassador and his retinue repaired to the midnight mass of Christmas, was interdicted, for admitting him to partake of the devotions of the season. Upon notice of this, the parliament of Paris was assembled, and the attorney-general drew up an appeal from Rome to the next general council, setting forth that the pope had no just claim to infallibility; that he had no power to excommunicate princes; that his priestly authority was of no weight in temporals; and that the power of the keys was abused when subservient to evil ends. That his holiness had not only in this acted contradictorily to his character as vicar, but also in refusing bulls to such as his majesty had nominated and recommended to the vacant bishoprics in his own kingdom, for no reason but because they would not acknowledge him to be infallible, or, as the Italian doctors call him, Universal Monarch; that by this means there were no fewer than thirty vacancies unsupplied at this day; and that the pope's obstinacy ought to be controlled, as the custom had formerly been with the church, by oecumenic, or national councils. After this, and much more, the attorney withdrew, and was by the parliament admitted as an appellant in the case;

the pope's bull was at the same time declared void ; it was forbidden to disperse it within any part of the kingdom, and ordered that the king should be humbly entreated to exert his authority as to the immunities and franchises of his ambassador at Rome ; and to call such councils, or assemblies of great men, as might apply a remedy to the disorders that had arisen from the long vacancies of archbishoprics and bishoprics ; and lastly, that he would prohibit all commerce with the court of Rome, nor suffer any money to be sent thither.

This was a strange sort of a scene to us in England. It was thought we were most inseparably linked together with our neighbour kingdom ; but while the one is abjectly endeavouring to crouch to the lash, the other is seemingly resolved to slip her neck out of the collar. But on the 29th of January, 1687-8, a proclamation is heard, requiring public thanksgiving to be made, for that our queen found herself quick with child. The joy on account of this news, if it created any to speak of, was continually interrupted by some violent or unequal act or other, on the part of the king ; among the rest, the Earl of Oxford, the first of his dignity in the realm, though low in fortune, being commanded to use interest in his lieutenancy for the repeal of the penal laws and test ; and making answer, in plain terms, that he could not persuade others to that, which in his own conscience he was averse to, the king took his regiment of horse from him, and gave it to the Duke of Berwick. Some time afterwards, the Earl of Burlington resigned his commission for the lord-lieutenancy of the West-Riding of York, into the hands of the king, who immediately gave it to Lord Thomas Howard, only brother to the Duke of Norfolk, a warm and zealous papist,

pursuant to the method his majesty had hitherto tenaciously observed with regard to most of the lieutenancies that became vacant in England.

The West-Riding of Yorkshire had not been examined as to the repeal of the test and penal laws; and now at the general quarter sessions at Pomfret, on the 24th of April, 1688, the popish justices, in number six, and Sir John Bointon, the king's serjeant, who, as I presume, aspired to be a judge, moved that an address of thanks might be signed and presented to his majesty, for his late indulgence as to matters of conscience, and that not only by all the justices, but by the two grand juries: but none of the justices, except the six above, and one Mr. Bull, nor either of the grand juries, would set their hands to this address; so that the Roman-catholics sent it up, signed by themselves, as the act of the whole sessions. By such tricks and artifices as these, the king was deceived in the opinion his subjects had of his late indulgence; three or four men, in several places as well as this, pretending to speak and answer for the whole corporation, or county.

A few days afterwards (May the 7th) a Roman-catholic justice told me, the king was now convinced, that he had been ill advised in pushing the question concerning the repeal of the test; that he intended to put out some justices and admit others, though not by that method, but by informing himself, from such as he knew to be true to his service, how they stood affected as to liberty of conscience; and that he had particular orders from the Lord Thomas Howard, who had the same from the king, to advise first with me upon that subject. I told him that the method lately taken had most assuredly been of no advantage to his

majesty, most of the principal and powerful gentlemen, in every county, having been thereby thrust out of employment: but that this new method would be attended with as great difficulties, and be subject to the same fallacy, it being impossible for one man to pry into the recesses of another man's heart; nay, that it was even a hard matter for a man to promise for himself. For according to the supposition, he was to be either in parliament, or out of it; if he himself should be elected, he could not honestly promise which way he should vote, till he came to his seat, and heard the debates; and that if he was not elected, it would be quite impossible in any degree to answer for the man he should chuse for his representative; that I believed most men thought a liberty of conscience might be of use and advantage to the nation, if settled upon a proper foundation, and with true regard to the rights and privileges of the church of England. To this he replied, that the king had openly declared the church of England should have any reasonable equivalent she could desire for her security, provided an act might pass for the liberty of conscience; and told me we should meet and talk farther upon this head, which for the present I evaded as much as possible; I cared not to explain myself quite, having no inclination to expose myself any farther than was barely needful, or to give characters of other men.

Having at two several times, in May, obtained leave to repair to London, I there found affairs to stand much in the posture I expected. The popish party was very urgent with the king to press the repeal of the laws against them, and the other as obstinate and headstrong against it; and what brought the dispute

to a still greater degree of warmth, was owing to what follows: his majesty had lately renewed his proclamation for liberty of conscience, and given order to the bishops, to cause it be read in the churches of their respective dioceses. The Archbishop of Canterbury, and the rest of the order, remonstrated against this; setting forth, in a petition they presented to the king, that they could not pay his majesty obedience in what he was pleased to require of them; that no bishop, or minister of the church of England could assent to the proclamation, which must of course be implied by their reading it, or causing it to be read; that a declaration of the same nature, on the part of the king, had been in parliament condemned twice in the late reign; that therefore they might be liable to be called to an account hereafter, for doing what had been adjudged contrary to law; that though the king of himself *could do no wrong*, his ministers or agents were responsible for whatever was done infractory of the law; and though his majesty had been pleased to declare a liberty of conscience, it was, nevertheless, the duty of the clergy, as much as in them lay, to persuade men into an adherence to their communion; that for them to publish the king's pleasure, in the manner required, would be the same as if they told the people they needed not to come to church except they pleased; and that by the same rule he might command them to read mass in their churches, and be found to obey. These and many other arguments were, upon this occasion, offered by the bishops; at which the king conceived so violent a displeasure, that they were commanded to appear in council before him, on the 8th of June.

In the mean time, I kissed the king's hand on the 1st of June, and met with a gracious reception: I was honoured with a visit from the Marquis of Halifax, who expressed himself pretty well inclined for liberty of conscience, but averse to the test and penal laws all at once, though he was seemingly not unwilling it should be done gradually, and upon wise and weighty considerations.

On the 8th of June seven of the bishops made their appearance before the king in council, where they were commanded to enter into recognizances of five hundred pounds a man, to answer to an information to be brought against them the next term, for disobedience to the king's orders. This they refused to do, saying they were not to engage themselves under any security of the kind, till the information or indictment was found, and that by so doing they should not only run counter to the law, but betray the liberty of the peerage; upon which the Archbi^thop of Canterbury and his six brethren were committed prisoners to the Tower, a severity most deeply resented by the whole church. Being then at Whitehall, I saw the bishops going to take water for the Tower: they all looked very cheerfully, and the Bishop of Chichester, in particular, called to me, and asked me how I did. The next day the Lord Huntingdon, one of the privy-council, told me, that had the king known how far the thing would have gone, he would never have laid the injunction he did, to have the declaration read in churches.

In the midst of this ferment, on the 10th of this month, being Trinity Sunday, about four minutes before ten in the morning, the queen was delivered of a prince, to the great joy of the court. But as important

as this event might seem to be, little notice may be said to have been taken of it. The imprisonment of the bishops was now uppermost in the minds of most of the people, who flocked to them in such numbers, for their blessing, and to condole their hard usage, that great and very extraordinary remarks were made both of persons and behaviour. Among the rest, ten non-conformist ministers went to pay them a visit, which the king took so heinously, that he sent for four of them to reprimand them ; but their answer was, “ that they could not but adhere to the prisoners, as men constant and firm to the protestant faith ;” or to that purpose. Nay, what is more extraordinary, the very soldiers that kept guard in the Tower, would frequently drink good-health to the bishops ; which being understood by Sir Edward Hales, constable of the Tower, he sent orders to the captain of the guard, to see it was done no more ; but the answer he received was, “ that they were doing it at the very instant, and would drink that, and no other health, while the bishops were there.”

At length, (June 15), the first day of the term came about, when the archbishop and the rest moving for the *Habeas Corpus*, twenty-one of the very prime of the nobility appeared at the King’s-bench to bail them ; and they were bailed accordingly. Upon this occasion the hall and Palace-yards were crowded with thousands of people ; who begging their blessing as they passed, the archbishop freely gave it, and as freely, at the same time, exhorted them to be constant to their religion. A fortnight afterwards, on the 29th, an information was exhibited against their lordships in the King’s-bench, for that they had framed and published a seditious libel, of which the jury would not find them

guilty. The council for the bishops, the ablest of their profession in all England, produced such arguments in their behalf, that the judges were divided; two of them declaring that the proofs did not extend to the making their petition or address a libel; and two of them, that they did: which cost Sir Richard Holloway and Sir John Powell their seats on the bench, as soon as the term was over. In the course of this trial, the power of the king to dispense with the laws (that grand point) was most exquisitely discussed by the bishops' council, who were so much an over-match for the king's, that at court it was most heartily wished this business had never been pushed to such a crisis. Westminster-hall, the Palace-yards, and all the streets about, were thronged with an infinite people, whose loud shouts and joyful acclamations, upon hearing the bishops were acquitted, were a very rebellion in noise, though very far from so either in fact or intention. Bonfires were made, not only in the city of London, but in most towns in England, as soon as the news reached them; though there were strict and general orders given out to prevent all such doings; and the clergy preached more loudly, and more freely than ever against the errors of the Latin church. The next day I waited on the king to the camp on Hounslow-heath, where every body observed him to labour under a very great disturbance of mind; but he spoke very kindly to me as I rode by him, on several occasions.

On the 12th of July, I was present as a justice, at the general sessions held for the Liberty of Westminster; and some days afterwards, at the same held for the county of Middlesex, at Hicks's-hall, where I found such a strange revolution among the justices of

the peace, so many papists and fanatics put into the commission, that I neither sought business, nor chose to mix with them. At this last place there were several indicted as rioters, for that they had been concerned in making of bonfires, or contributed thereto ; but the grand jury would find no bill, though they were sent out no less than three times ; so generally did the love of the bishops and the protestant cause prevail. And now my Lord Hallifax advised me to consider with myself, whether as affairs stood, it were prudent to continue in my employments : I answered, I had great obligations to the king, and would serve him as well as I could, whilst he would allow me that honour, without concerning himself with my religion.

On the 13th, Lord Sunderland, who had been long suspected for a papist, openly declared himself of that communion, with the usual ceremonies, in the king's chapel ; and ten or eleven days afterwards, the king went down to the Thames's mouth, as pretended, only to take a view of the fleet ; but the real cause was to appease the seamen, who were ready to mutiny, on account of some of their captains, who had publicly celebrated mass in their ships. The king flattered them all he could ; went from ship to ship ; called them his children ; said he had nothing to do with their religion, and that he granted liberty of conscience to all ; but that he expected they would behave like men of honour and courage when there should be occasion for their service ; though they were so far gratified, that all the priests were ordered on shore. Admiral Herbert, an able seaman, whom the king had discarded from several great posts, because he would not promise to vote for the repeal, went privately away to Holland, where he was

made rear-admiral ; which raised anger in the king, and the rather, as a great many seamen went after him.

Some time afterwards in August, the Duke of Norfolk came to visit me in London ; with whom discoursing upon the present situation of the kingdom, I found him a very firm and steady protestant, to which he had been converted in the late reign ; and by no means satisfied with the court. Some days afterwards, carrying my wife and daughter to Windsor, to wait on the queen, I perceived the court to be under some consternation, and the king in an ill humour, though he was of an equanimity which made it difficult to discover, at the news that the Dutch had fitted out a large fleet as designed against us ; and that the French and Dutch were on the brink of a rupture, and would each of them press us soon to know which side we would take. This, considering the jealousies we were under on account of religion, the violent discontents about the army, and the ill time of the day it was to call a parliament for fresh supplies of money, did very justly and reasonably disquiet the court. And now the first thing the king did, was to declare on the 24th of August, he would call a parliament, to meet the 27th of November following ; protesting in council, that he was moved thereto more for the good and satisfaction of the nation, than for any apprehension he was under of the Dutch armament. However, he commanded all officers in general to their posts, and drew the forces out of other garrisons and places to man the sea-ports.

Designing for York, I took leave of his majesty on the 28th, but with terrible apprehensions that he would put the same question to me he had to others, concerning the repeal ; but he said nothing at all of it, only

enjoined me to stand a candidate for the next parliament at York, which I would gladly have been excused, but it could not be; and so he wished me a good journey. Just at this time I had news, that the question had been put, the week before, to all our justices of the West-Riding, and that they had all answered in the negative; so that I could not but think I had a lucky escape.

I sent notice to the mayor and others of York, that I intended to stand for one of their representatives, at the ensuing election; and found the magistracy would be for the most part against me, though I had good encouragement from the other citizens. The truth is, I was at some loss to know how to act in this matter; I was not desirous to be of this parliament, not only because I was grown infirm and almost unfit to attend the duty of the house; but also because I was afraid the king would expect more from me than my conscience would extend to: for as I was determined not to violate this on the one side, so I could hardly resolve to offend so good a master on the other. In these straits, I went to the king at Windsor, and shewed him the letters I had sent to York, and the answers I had received thereto; desiring his majesty to indulge me with replies to three queries I had to make: 1. Whether, seeing the contest was like to be both chargeable and difficult, and the success extremely doubtful, it was his pleasure I should stand?—He replied positively, I should. 2. Whether, as the opposition was very strong against me, he would impute it to my remissness if I miscarried?—He promised he would not. 3. Whether he would assist me all he could to prevent my being baffled, and particularly by such means as I

should propose to him?—His answer was, Yes; and he gave immediate orders to the lords for purging of corporations, to make whatever change or alteration I desired in the city of York, and to put in or out; which the king it seems had reserved to himself by the last charter, just as I pleased. But I was careful of what I did in this regard: I considered that if I put out none, it would look as if I had no power, and debase me into contempt; and that if I displaced too many, it might exasperate the city against me, make them believe I was too deep in the court-interest, and prevent my success on the other hand: I therefore only desired that the lord-mayor might be dismissed his office, and Sir —— Thompson appointed in his stead, which would prevent his being a member of parliament; and that too, Mr. Edward Tomson and Mr. Ramsden, who were my principal friends in the former election of me for York, and were afterwards turned out partly on my account, might be restored as aldermen. Then taking leave of the king, and having presented him with some Roman medals, which he took very kindly, he again charged me to do what I could to be chosen.

I afterwards desired Mr. Brent, the agent for corporation-matters, that if he had the power, I might, with some others I should name, be added to the bench of justices in that city, by a writ of assistance; which he promised me should be done. To leave this affair for the present; there had at this time been fifty Irishmen and papists sent for from Ireland, by the Duke of Berwick, in order to be incorporated into his regiment. Every captain was to have some; but Lieutenant-colonel Beaumont, and five captains more, who were all that were then on the spot, in quarters

at Portsmouth, refused to take a man of them ; saying their companies were complete, and that they were not to part with good soldiers and Englishmen, to make room for such as were inferior to them and foreigners ; desiring they might choose their own men, or throw up their commissions. The Duke of Berwick took great offence at this, and sending an account of it to the king, he dispatched twenty horse to bring them up in custody to Windsor-castle, where they were to be tried by a council of war ; and they were brought up accordingly. I spoke to them just as they arrived, and found they were all resolved to stand it out ; but they told me the duke had not offered a man of the Irish to any company, then in his grace's regiment, which was very kind of him on his part, and a miraculous escape on mine.

Meanwhile, the Prince of Orange and the Dutch ambassador had lately given the king assurances that their preparations were not against us ; but his majesty, as if he made a doubt of it, ordered great things towards a fleet for the spring ; and I was positively told by one, that he had actually twenty-five hundred thousand pounds in his coffers.

On the 10th of September, a council of war sat upon Colonel Beaumont and the five captains, and they were all cashiered, though with reluctance on the part of the king, who seemed to dread the consequences of it : they were offered forgiveness if they would but accept of the men, but they all refused it ; which caused a great and general discontent throughout the army, and particularly in that regiment ; most of which soon after quitted. The same day Sir Walter Vavasor, and Mr. Middleton, came up to make report to the king,

of the answers they had received from the West-Riding and the corporations, to the queries they had put to them ; in which I found the lord-mayor and aldermen of York were so faulty, that they would out of course, and that I needed not give myself the trouble of getting them removed, and more remarkably my greatest opposers ; so I left them to their stars, and only insisted on the commission of assistance for myself and friends I should name ; but every post brought me new fears I should not be chosen at York, though several alterations and restrictions from popular elections to a mayor and twelve aldermen, whom the king appointed as he pleased, were now made by new charters, for the more certain election of such members as might be to the king's good liking. And now Lord Hallifax, when I took leave of him, which was on the 16th of September, advised me not to be too much in earnest with my election ; at least not to make too free a use of the court-assistance, for many reasons he then offered to my consideration.

A few days afterwards I set out for Yorkshire ; and being at my seat in the country, I received advice that my interest at York was much lessened by my absence ; and what was still worse, that Lord Montgomery's company being ordered to march from that city, his lordship would, if I did not come speedily, be obliged to deliver up the keys into the hands of the lord-mayor ; I therefore immediately posted away and received the keys, and the company marched. I represented it to the king as a great inconvenience, that there should not be so much as one company in garrison at York ; and desired to know what I was to do with the keys ? To the first of which his majesty an-

swered, that upon more mature deliberation he had recalled the company ; and that as to the second, I might dispose of the keys as I saw proper.

I desired the lord-mayor to call a hall, for that I had something to say to them. A hall was called on the 1st of October ; but his lordship, the greatest enemy to my election, not having patience to stay till I came, dismissed it almost as soon as assembled, fearing I should make some proselytes to my interest. Just on the back of this comes down a proclamation, setting forth a certain intention the Prince of Orange had to invade this kingdom, by the assistance and with the concurrence of the States-general, both with a strong fleet and a numerous army ; commanding all lord-lieutenants, deputy-lieutenants, and all other his majesty's officers, to hold themselves in readiness to defend the king and kingdom. At this time Lord Thomas Howard was lieutenant of the West-Riding, a rigid papist, and now gone ambassador to Rome. He had left but three deputies behind him, two of whom also were papists, and but two of the three were now in the country : while most of the gentry of Yorkshire were come to the city, expecting to meet with writs for the choice of members. I therefore pressed the high-sheriff to give notice to some gentlemen, while I convened others, for the next day ; when Sir Henry Goode-
rick began a discourse, which I seconded, to shew how little we were able to serve the king with the militia, without another lord-lieutenant, under whom we might lawfully serve, meaning a protestant ; and at the same time we subscribed a representation of our ease to his majesty. I was well aware how very un-

grateful this would be to him ; but to obviate his displeasure, I gave him private intelligence of the intention to prepare it, and begged of him to excuse the concern I had therein, assuring him it was now absolutely for his service.

In the midst of this, on the 4th of October, comes down a special messenger to purge the corporation, to put out the former lord-mayor and aldermen, and to appoint others, almost all papists ; but the commission was so defective, and there were such mistakes in the execution of it, as frustrated the design. The next day I prevailed with the lord-mayor to call a hall; upon which occasion I spoke to them a full half-hour, and so convinced them of the evil arts which had been put in practice against me, and the great injustice done me, that they all seemed to be converts in my favour ; and to add to what I had said, I gave them up the keys, but made them own it as a courtesy, and promise to restore them to me again, whenever I desired it, for his majesty's service. And now Lord Fairfax, a Roman-catholic, and lord-lieutenant of the North-Riding, being at York, observed to me, it could be for no good end that the Lords Devonshire and Danby were come down to the country ; though the former pretended he was only come to view his estate, and the latter to drink the waters at Knaisbourg. They were both of them frequently engaged in conversation at Sir Henry Gooderick's, and the first of them came to York, where I paid all imaginable civilities to him, and received the same from him ; the other I waited on at Sir Henry's, not once suspecting that men of their high quality and great estate could

intend any thing prejudicial to the government or dangerous to themselves ; and indeed their outward behaviour was very decent and innocent.

Two days afterwards I had an express from Lord Preston, the new secretary of state ; Sunderland, who was turned papist, and had been the author of great mischief since he had been near the king, being laid aside ; to acquaint me that his majesty had given a very kind reception to our representation on the part of the county, and that in compliance therewith he had named the Duke of Newcastle to be lord-lieutenant of all Yorkshire ; and his grace coming to town soon after, appointed his deputies and militia-officers, both horse and foot. The king began now, though fatally too late, to be sensible of his error in carrying matters to so enormous a length at the instigation of popish councils ; and now restored several justices of the peace in most counties, as also the old charters all England over ; he now quits his hold of the Bishop of London, does justice to Magdalen-college, and begins again to court the church of England.

Amidst this hopeful reform, on the 10th of October comes news that the Prince of Orange increased daily, and that his fleet was ready to spread canvass for the sea. Three days afterwards I had orders from the king to receive seven hundred Scotch horse and dragoons, on their march from the norrthern kingdom ; and in two days they arrived. I was in great hopes they would have taken up their quarters in York, for the security of both the city and country ; but the danger hourly approaching, the apprehensions of the Prince of Orange's descent growing stronger and stronger, and the king being willing to have his army in as

numerous a plight as might be, they were ordered to continue their march southward, after they had been with us but three days. The Duke of Newcastle, who kept nothing a secret from me, told me he had heard Lord Danby had a great sum of money in the bank of Holland, and that he had been invited up to London by my Lord Bellassis and the king's order; that he had made some offers of his service, but that he had no manner of intention to go up; which last I very well knew from other hands.

On the 15th of October, upon some discourse with the Earl of Danby, at the dean's house, his lordship broke out into these expressions: "We are now every way in an ill condition in this kingdom. — If the king beats the Prince of Orange, popery will return upon us with more violence than ever. — If the prince beats the king, the crown and the nation may be in no small danger." The late lord-mayor being now superseded, though it was impossible to swear the new one in, because of some mistakes with regard to the new charter, it may be said that York was now a very remarkable place; for it was an archbishopric without a bishop, a city without a mayor, and a garrison without a soldier. But these defects were soon supplied; the old charter was restored and the old lord-mayor therewith; the Bishop of Exeter, who fled from that city upon the Prince of Orange's landing, was made Archbishop of York; and I had one company of foot sent to continue with me.

Strange it was, and a certain presage of the mischiefs which attended this invasion, that neither the gentry nor the commonalty were under any concern about it: said they, "the prince comes only to maintain the

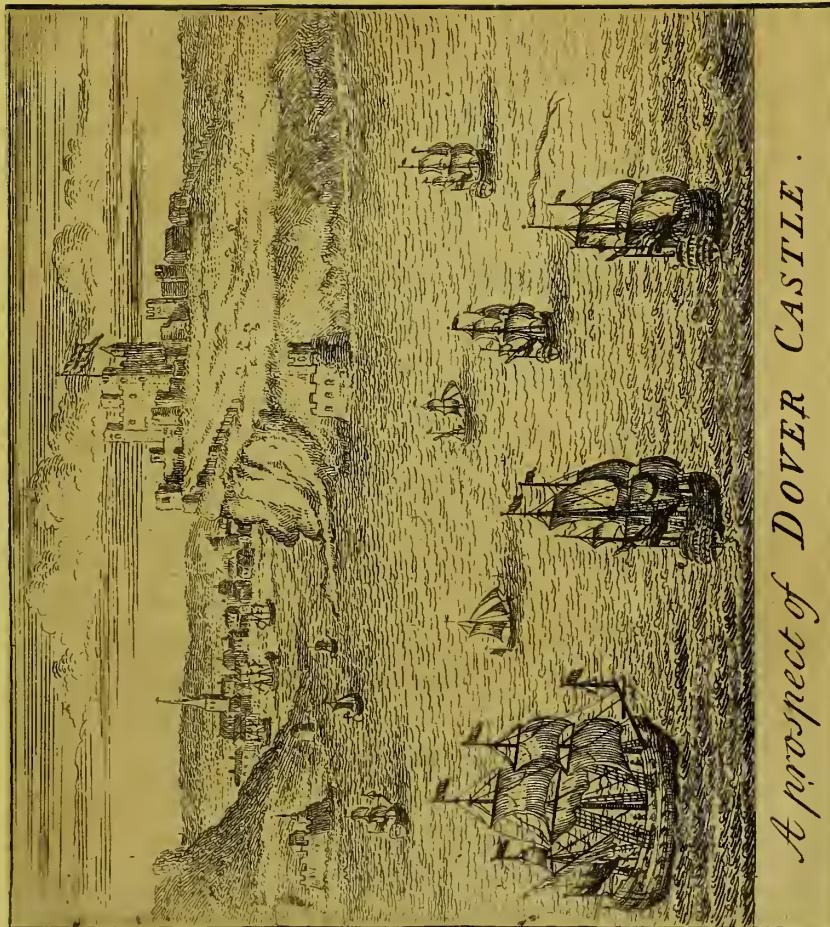
protestant religion: —— he will do no harm to England.” While, on the other hand, it was from court suggested that his aim was at the crown, and that the Dutch, who assisted him, grasped at the trade of England. In truth, his highness’s declaration, when it made its appearance, (which was a little while before he landed), seemed to be dark and ambiguous enough; setting forth all the grievances of the nation with great aggravation, and asserting, “ that the king’s intention was to subvert the government both in church and state; that he designed to make himself absolute, and to extirpate the protestant religion; that to this purpose he had insisted on a dispensing power; that he had moulded and fashioned all the charters to his mind, to the end he might have such members of parliament as he desired; that he had examined and pre-engaged such as he intended should be of the house of commons; and that, what was worse, he had imposed a supposititious Prince of Wales upon the nation, merely to promote popery, and to defeat the Prince and Princess of Orange of their right of succession.”

The king, understanding there was a great noise raised about this Prince of Wales, had, a little before the invasion, called an extraordinary council, whither all the nobility, bishops, and foreign ministers were summoned, before whom the queen-dowager, several lords and ladies, and the king’s and queen’s servants, to the number of forty, as well protestants as papists, gave pregnant evidence concerning the birth of this prince; all which was re-examined in chancery upon oath, and there recorded.

On the 29th of October a report arrived that the Dutch fleet had been miserably shattered by tempest;

that Lord Sunderland was certainly out, and Lord Preston, secretary of state in his stead. The king meanwhile made great preparations for war, and had swelled up his army, as was computed, to six thousand horse and dragoons, and thirty-eight thousand foot: the fleet also was out, under the command of Lord Dartmouth, but much inferior to the Dutch, and did nothing to the purpose. Three days afterwards the Prince of Orange's declaration, conveyed by an unknown hand to a citizen of ours, was brought to me; and I immediately transmitted it to the secretary of state. Orders were at the same time sent down to us to secure the Lord Lumley, then in the North-Riding; but the gentleman, Colonel John Darcy, who was charged with this commission, pretended he could not find him; though it afterwards appeared his lordship was not far off, and might have been seized at pleasure. The next day I had an express from the secretary at war, signifying that the Dutch fleet had been seen off Dover, steering their course to the westward: which gave us some hopes there was no danger of their landing in the North. In three days more I received by another express, that the prince was actually arrived at Torbay, in the West, (on the 5th of this month, November), and that he had marched straight to Exeter, attended by Marshal Schomberg, an old and experienced officer, together with a number of our own nobility and gentry of considerable name, and a great land-army.

I immediately sent the Duke of Newcastle word of this invasion, though he had notice of it from above; but he wrote back, that the prince being landed at such a distance, his presence would be no way necessary at



A prospect of DOVER CASTLE.

York. I thought this a very weak answer, and sent him word that the danger was not only from the invaders, but also from their confederates at home; and that it was impossible the prince should dare to attack England with an army of under 20,000 men, if he was not very sure of assistance from ourselves. The deputy-lieutenants, being ten in number, were now all at York, and being very solicitous to preserve peace, quiet, and good order, proposed a meeting of the gentry and freeholders of the county, to be held on Thursday the 19th instant, in order to draw up some declaration of unshaken loyalty to the king in this time of danger; as also to consult on such matters as might be for the honour of God, and our own welfare and safety. This being a motion made by Sir Henry Gooderick, I seconded it; and observed that an address of such a tenor might give some satisfaction to the government, and be a discouragement to its enemies. Accordingly a summons was drawn up, to be dispersed all the country over; and in the mean time I wrote up to Lord Preston, the secretary of state, to acquaint him with this seemingly intended loyal address from the gentlemen in our parts, and sent a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, desiring him to make one of the company.

On the 15th of November, being at dinner with Lord Fairfax, Sir Henry Gooderick, and others, at a gentleman's who had invited us, the clerk of the peace of the West-Riding comes in, to give us notice of a new commission, in which some thirty of the principal gentlemen of the neighbourhood were left out; and among the rest, Sir Henry himself. This threw him into such a rage, that he vowed he was sorry he had

promoted the meeting he had for the service of the king ; but I heard that at this intended assembly there were to have been some points discussed, which would not have been of so grateful a nature to the court : for it was at the same time the design to have petitioned for a speedy and a free parliament, and for other concessions which were to have been demanded and insisted upon. But all this was all along denied to me, and particularly by Sir Henry Gooderick ; who being an open man, I confess I added faith to his words : but friendship is too often a blind to the eyes.

On the 19th the Duke of Newcastle himself came to York, and said he heard there was a design to petition for a free parliament, and that he thought it not fit there should be so much of the militia together. I sat that night with his grace till it was twelve of the clock ; and we came to a resolution, that if the petition or intended address was not conceived in terms of the strictest loyalty, we would not set our hands to it. The next day his grace called together his deputy-lieutenants, and asked them, if there was any thing meant by their assembly on Thursday, more than to make a declaration of loyalty to his majesty ? Whereupon Sir Henry Gooderick, who was one of them, declared plainly, that he intended to petition for a free parliament, and hoped that the rest, who should meet, would concur therein, after the example of a late petition from some bishops and some temporal lords. The duke took this so much amiss, that he declared he would not stay to be affronted or overruled by his deputies ; and that he would be gone the next day. I made opposition to this ; observing that no absolute resolution could be taken till the gentlemen appeared ; and that if aught else

besides a mere declaration of loyalty were thought necessary, it might be so penned, and with that modesty as both to satisfy here, and not displease above; in short, that his grace ought, at all events, to be on the spot in a time of such great trouble and difficulty. But he went away according to his word, saying nobody had been of his side but myself.

On the 22d came the day of meeting; a fatal one I think. I would not go to them at the common-hall, which was the place appointed; nor indeed was I very well able, by reason of some bruises I had received by my horses falling upon me: but I heard that in the midst of about a hundred gentlemen who met, Sir Henry Gooderick delivered himself to this effect: “that there having been great endeavours made by the government of late years to bring popery into the kingdom, and by many devices to set at naught the laws of the land, there could be no proper redress of the many grievances we laboured under, but by a free parliament; that now was the only time to prefer a petition of the sort; and that they could not imitate a better pattern than had been set before them by several lords spiritual and temporal.” There were those who differed with him in opinion, and would have had some expressions in the paper moderated and amended; and observed, that at the same time they petitioned as they designed, it would be but their duty to assure his majesty, they would stand firm by him in the midst of the dangers which threatened both him and his kingdoms, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes; but this was overruled. When therefore the draught was completed according to the mind of Sir Henry Gooderick and his friends, though several disliked it and went away, they

proceeded to sign; but before a third man could subscribe it, in comes one Mr. Tankard, with a rueful story that the papists were risen; and that they had actually fired upon the militia-troops. Alarmed at this, the gentlemen ran out; and those that were privy to the design betook them to their horses, which were conveniently at hand for their purpose. Lord Danby, meanwhile in his lodging, waited for the false alarm, and mounted, with his son, Lord Lumley, Lord Horton, Lord Willoughby, and others, who, together with their servants, formed a body of horse, consisting of a hundred in number, well mounted, and well accoutred. These rode up to the four militia-troops, drawn out on another account, and cried out, *a free parliament; the protestant religion; and no popery!* The captains of these troops were Lord Fairfax, Sir Thomas Gower, Mr. Robinson, and Captain Tankard; who being admitted of the secret the night before, though prompt and ready enough in their nature for any action of the kind, immediately cried out the same, and led their troops over to them. In the first place they went to the main guard of the standing company, which (the number not exceeding twenty) they surprized, before I had the least notice or even jealousy of what was in agitation; not thinking it possible that men of such quality, such estates, could give way to their discontent, however great and just it might be, to the degree of engaging themselves in an attempt so desperate, and so contrary to the laws they boasted, and the religion they professed. But I had no sooner notice of what had been transacted, than I sent for the officers and the guard, and understood they were prisoners. I then sent to each captain of the four troops, enjoining him



Painted in Mon. by S. Cooper

General Sir Thomas Fairfax.

Engraved by G. C. B. 1790.

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12s



to bring his troop to me as the king's governor, as also to the main guard of the militia foot: but they would not stir a step: they would hearken to no orders. I then sent for my own horses, and was just ready to go to the troops, in hopes, by my presence, to regain them to the king's service; when Sir Henry Bellassis, who had commanded a regiment in Holland, under the prince, and had lurked about a long while in Yorkshire for his highness's service, drew up a party of thirty horse before my door, and prevented my stirring abroad, till Lord Danby and his principal companions came up to me.

His lordship told me, that to resist were to no manner of end or purpose; that himself, and the gentlemen with him, were in arms for a free parliament, and the preservation of the protestant religion and government, as by law established; which the king had almost brought to nothing, and which the Prince of Orange was come to restore; and that he hoped I would join them in so laudable an effort. I made answer, that I was for a free parliament and the protestant religion as well as they, but that I was also for the king. His lordship replied, that he was so too; and that he hoped, as we agreed in principles, we should concur in action: I told him though we exactly agreed in the matter, we differed widely as to the manner; and I could not conceive it lawful to extort any thing from the crown by any manner of force; and that, as I had the honour of being his majesty's governor for York, it was impossible, whatever the consequences might be, for me to join in concert with those who openly and avowedly acted in repugnance to and contempt of his authority and commission. His lordship then said, "he must

imprison me ;" to which I made answer, " that I was naked and destitute of friends and assistance, and that I acknowledged myself in his lordship's power, to do with me as he would." But after some short consultation, his lordship told me, he knew me to be a man of honour, and that he should think my engagement not to stir, to be as sure and as close a restraint upon me, as a guard or a prison ; so that, upon the pledge of my honour, I was to confine myself to my room ; his lordship, however, recommended what he had offered to my farther consideration. They then seized on all the gates, posted strong guards every where, and suffered none to go in or out ; they secured such persons as betrayed a dislike to their proceedings, and especially the officers of the company ; but the company itself revolted to them the next day.

Gathered to this head, the next day they visited the magazine and stores, which God knows, were next to nothing, notwithstanding all my most pressing remonstrances to the king, both formerly and of late. The militia-troops then, and some of the gentlemen who came in to serve as volunteers, and who were not above sixty, ransacked the houses of several papists, for priests, arms, and horses, which they took wherever they found them. They seized also on a company of foot new raised, but not yet armed, in their quarters at Tadcaster ; and a company of grenadiers, as they were on their march for London, by the way of York : but as yet they touched the property of no man but the king's, the papists and myself excepted ; for they made very free with my coals, and the other provision that I had laid in for the use of the garrison.

On the 24th the earl caused the lord-mayor to call

a hall ; where his lordship made a speech, setting forth the reason for their rising, and of their declaration ; desiring the city would join with them in the latter : and they signed it accordingly ; as did also a number of gentlemen. This declaration being the next day printed, there appeared of lords of lords to it six ; of lords' sons, three ; of baronets, five ; of knights, six ; of esquires and gentlemen, sixty-six ; and of citizens of York, fifty-six. We had now news from Nottingham, that the Earl of Devonshire, Lord Delamere, and many more noblemen and gentlemen were risen also in those parts, and that great numbers flocked in to them.

Meanwhile the king was on his march to Salisbury, which he had appointed to be the general rendezvous of his whole army, having sent the young prince, his son, to Portsmouth, as the report was by some ; but to France, according to others. In a day or two, I made it my request to the Earl of Danby, that he would give me leave to be a prisoner at my own house in the country, where I promised to act nothing to his prejudice, but to acquiesce, and abide by my word as a true prisoner. Hereupon he sent for me to come and dine with him ; and at my coming into the room told me, that, to give me the better stomach to my meal, I might, upon the terms I had proposed, depart whenever I pleased. At dinner his lordship told me, the Duke of Newcastle's absence had been what principally favoured their design ; and that he doubted not but I had some fear or suspicion of what was going forward : I answered, that I did indeed believe they would go very high in their petition, but never imagined so many gentlemen of their rank and quality

would have ventured upon so perilous an expedient ; and that if I had been aware of it, I should certainly have made a resistance, though to ever so little purpose, or at least have made my escape out of the town. I had discourse with several of these gentlemen, and perceived that they began to reflect on what they had done, as of more danger than they at first thought of, and found they were troubled, that men came in so slowly to them. Lord Willoughby said it was the first time that any *Bertie* had been concerned against the crown ; that it was a grief to him, but that the necessity of the times was fatally such, that there had been no avoiding it. To this I observed, that the flagrant invasion on our rights might have been restrained without a repelling force, and that a thorough and plain representation of our injuries, properly urged on the part of the whole kingdom, could not have failed to reduce the king to a better and juster sense of what he was about ; that the great want of money, the violent distraction of the nation, and a plain discovery that popery could never again be imposed upon us, would have obliged his majesty, for his own sake, for his own safety and interest, to have altered the tenor of his conduct. Sir Henry Gooderick would then have persuaded me to sign their declaration, but I told them I could not possibly do it ; for that though I should be of a mind with them, as to the matter it contained, yet being now in arms I could not, in my judgment, conceive but a concurrence with them, as to the contents of their paper, might be justly construed into a joining with them in the force. Mr. Tankard also most earnestly pressed me to be with them, but I held out. In the midst of this comes the

clerk of the peace to give me notice of a new commission that was brought down, which restored all the gentlemen of the West-Riding I have formerly observed to have been turned out; but that myself and two more were omitted. Lord Danby immediately took up this, and told me it was plain there was a resentment against me, and that it was very evident I should meet with worse quarter on the other side, than from them; but all this had no manner of effect upon me. The next day the Duke of Newcastle sent orders to his captains of horse to dismiss the militia troops; but they, instead of obeying his orders, laughed at him for his ill-timed message.

This day I obtained a pass of their generalships to go to my own home, upon my parole that I would confine myself there, nor exceed the bounds of five miles about; and live peaceably and quietly, and abstain from all manner of hostile action. We had now news as if the army had voted for a free parliament, though at the same time they declared they would defend his majesty's person from all men without exception: the very matter I desired to be the contents of our Yorkshire petition. But on the heels of this laudable resolution, it happened, as we were told, that a number of great men, officers of the army, and particular confidants of the king, had revolted and gone over to the Prince of Orange; particularly, that on the 19th of November, the king having then reached Salisbury, where his army was rendezvoused, the Lord Churchill, one of his major-generals, under pretence of shewing him his out-guards, misled his majesty into a train which must have betrayed him to the hands of a party of the Prince of Orange's army, had not an immo-

derate bleeding at the nose prevented the king from proceeding; and that the said lord perceiving his design to be thus frustrated, immediately went over to the prince, accompanied by the Duke of Grafton, Colonel Berkley, and others; though, it must be observed, that this Lord Churchill was raised, from a page to the king, to the degree of a viscount of England, and in possession of a great estate therewith, which was entirely owing to his majesty's bounty. The king, astonished, and not knowing whom to trust, returned to Andover on the 24th, where he sat at supper with Prince George of Denmark, his son-in-law, and the Duke of Ormond; but to the surprize of all men, they both deserted him that very night, and withdrew to the prince, together with others of good note and account. The very next day, the Princess of Denmark departed privately from Whitehall, in company with Lady Churchill, and took refuge at Nottingham. Now the number of all that thus forsook the king did not as yet amount to one thousand; but such a mutual jealousy now took birth, that there was no relying on any one, no knowing who would be true and honest to the cause; wherefore the army and artillery were ordered to retire back towards London, where his majesty arrived on the 26th; his out-quarters being at Windsor, Reading, and places round about.

The next day he called together all the lords spiritual and temporal then in town, being about fifty in number; and pursuant to their advice, writs were immediately issued out for calling a free parliament, and for removing all Roman-catholics from councils and employments; for issuing out a general pardon to all who were with the prince, and for sending commis-

A View of Hamoaze & Plymouth Dock, from, Mount Edgcumbe.





La Ville de
DUNKERQUE,
en Flandre.



sioners to treat with him. The proclamation accordingly came out, the parliament was to meet upon the 15th of January next ensuing, and the Lords Hallifax, Nottingham, and Godolphin, were appointed commissioners to the prince. But to return back a little to our northern parts: Kingston upon Hull, or Hull, that considerable garrison, was surprized by Mr. Copley, the lieutenant-governor, on the 28th of November; who gathering a party to him, seized the governor himself, Lord Langdale, in the night, as also a number of Roman-catholics who fled for refuge to that place; and the soldiers joining in the treachery, they declared for the king, and the protestant religion, and sent immediate notice to York of what they had done. About the same time a party was dispatched from York to seize the Duke of Newcastle's horses and arms; which they did, but no manner of attempt or injury was offered to his grace's person. In short, there were but few gentlemen in our parts of the county that adhered to the king; nor indeed in any part of the north of England.

On the 10th of December, Plymouth, Bristol, and other places, submitted themselves to the prince, and the defection began to be general. In the midst as it were of this, the Prince of Wales is brought from Portsmouth to London, when every soul concluded he was in France: but he made no continuance; the queen the very next night, being Sunday, carrying him, about twelve of the clock, down to a vessel privately prepared, which by a favourable gale was wafted over to Dunkirk. The next day a regiment of Scotch horse deserted to the prince; nor was there an hour scarce but his majesty received, like Job, ill news of

one sort or other ; so that, prompted thereto by most fatal advice, he the next day, being the 11th, withdrew himself privately, attended only by two or three persons, to follow the queen, as was then most commonly believed. This was very extraordinary and quite wonderful : for his commissioners having just before sent him word, that affairs might be managed with the prince to his majesty's satisfaction, he had summoned his cabinet council to meet the next day, at nine in the morning ; though it seems he intended nothing less than to be with them ; for he went away that very night, without so much as leaving any order or direction behind him. The lord-chancellor withdrew at the same time, and took the broad seal along with him ; so that all was now in the utmost confusion, nor is the consternation to be expressed. Upon this the lords, as well spiritual as temporal, wrote to his highness of Orange, to let him know the king was gone from them, and to acquaint him they would endeavour to keep things in order till they could receive his directions, and to invite him to town.

The rabble had been before sufficiently incensed against the papists ; but now apprehending, and reasonably enough, that the king had withdrawn himself by their advice, or rather at their instigation, they grew to that height of outrage, that, rising in prodigious multitudes, and dividing themselves into great parties, they pulled down the chapels of that worship, as well as the houses of many of its professors, taking and spoiling their goods, and imprisoning such as they suspected to be priests : nor did they spare even the chapels and houses of ambassadors, and other foreign ministers ; and particularly the Spanish ambassador, who, as was

generally computed, of his own and others who sought his protection, had goods and plate to the value of one hundred thousand pounds taken from him ; what was of less worth, and belonging to that superstition, was burnt publicly in the street. The same day, the lord-chancellor, who had waited too long for the tide, though in the disguise of a seaman, and destitute of his eye-brows, which he had purposely cut off, was stopt at Wapping, taken and committed to the Tower by order of the lords. He was first brought to the lord-mayor upon suspicion only ; but being soon known, they were obliged to give him a strong guard, or he had certainly been torn to pieces. Pen, the great quaker, a man of reputed wit, and much consulted by the king, with regard to the dispensing power he would unfortunately have usurped, and the scheme of liberty of conscience, was taken also ; as was father Peters, that incendiary, that scandal to the privy-council, where he was the first of his pernicious order that had sat for many a year before.

The king, however, upon his departure wrote to the general officers of his army, signifying, that things being brought to extremities, and being obliged to send away the queen and the prince, he was forced to follow himself ; but hoped it might, at some time or other, please God to touch the hearts of this nation with true loyalty and honour : that, could he but have trusted to his troops, he would at least have one blow for it ; but that though there were some loyal and brave men among them, both officers and soldiers, it was their advice to him not to venture himself at their head, or to fight the Prince of Orange with them. He thanked those for their fidelity who had been true to him ; and

added, that though he did not expect they should expose themselves, by resisting a foreign army, and a poisoned nation, he hoped they would preserve themselves disengaged from associations and all such evil doings. In the postscript he told them, that as he had ever found them loyal, so they ever had and ever should find in him a kind master. Lord Feversham, then commanding as general, dispatched this letter to the Prince of Orange; and sent him word, that having thereby directions to make no opposition, he had, to prevent the effusion of christian blood, given notice of the same to his army, which had thereupon in great measure disbanded.

His majesty, in the mean time, endeavouring to forsake the kingdom, in a hoy, with few of his attendants, among whom was Sir Edward Hales; and stretching over from an island in Kent, was boarded by a boat, with thirty-six armed men, who were bound, as they called it, a priest-codding, or catching. They used the king, but especially those that were with him, with great rudeness and incivility, and took from his majesty three hundred guineas, all he was at that time worth, and his sword: but when they came to understand who he was, they offered to restore him both; but he would take back nothing but his sword. Being brought to shore, he went to Lord Winchelsea's, where he was taken with another fit of bleeding at the nose, which made him very weak and very sick. Information of this being sent up to the lords at Whitehall, they ordered four noblemen, Aylesbury, Middleton, Yarmouth, and another, with some of his servants, to attend him, and carry him necessaries; some of the guards also, and Lord Feversham, waited upon him;

but their orders were to leave it to his majesty's own choice, either to go or to return; it being deemed unfit to put any restraint upon him. Much about the same time, the Lords Peterborough and Salisbury, who had been lately converted by father Walker, master of University-college in Oxford, were also taken: but the Prince of Orange being invited to London, had reached Windsor before he knew the king had been intercepted.

Before his highness came to town, he sent his own people to possess themselves of the Tower: he quartered them in and near the town, and posted them at Whitehall; and at two in the morning sent his majesty notice, that he must remove thence that day to some place ten or twelve miles distant, and be attended by his highness's guards. His majesty therefore went to Rochester, attended by Lord Dunbarton, Lord Aylesbury, and Lord Arran; and then the prince came to St. James's, where he was complimented by many of the nobility; the bells rang, bonfires were lighted up, nor was any public profession of joy wanting among the rabble; while serious men in the city seemed to think it hard the king should be so forced to withdraw himself a second time.

The prince, upon his arrival, seemed more inclined to the presbyterians than to the members of the church; which startled the clergy: he ordered as many of the king's forces to be gathered together as possible, and confined Lord Feversham to Windsor-castle for having disbanded them, and for other matters laid to his charge; nor must we forget, that his highness assumed so much to himself, as to make the Duke of Beaufort wait full four hours before he would give him admittance. The king alarmed at this proceeding, began to think himself

in danger, and sent to the lords, signifying, it was his desire to go out of the kingdom. Their lordships took some time to consider on the answer they were to make ; but while they were in the midst of their deliberation, he gratified himself in his own desire, and went privately away. And now the English guards and other troops were, by the prince, sent to the distance of twenty miles from London, to make room for the foreign soldiery he had brought with him.

The lords having for some time sat in their house, and finding that his majesty would not appoint another chancellor or keeper, nor produce the great seal ; the lords, I say, being about sixty in number, as well spiritual as temporal, Lord Hallifax being in the chair, made an order to banish all papists that had not kept house for four years last past, to the distance of ten miles from the city. Their lordships ceased not to sit, though it was Christmas-day ; and, among other things, framed an address to the prince, that he would take the government on himself, till affairs could be settled ; and the next day a certain number of lords were appointed to wait on him therewith ; but his highness said, he could give no answer to it, till he had the opinion of the commons ; for it was but two days before that he had ordered the lord-mayor and fifty of the aldermen and common-council, together with all such gentlemen as had been members of parliament in the late reign, and were in town, to meet together in the house of commons, to sit there as a committee, in imitation of the lords. They met accordingly, to the number of about three hundred, and voted a concurrence with the lords in most things, and particularly in their address to the prince to take the government upon him till the

22d of January, when a convention was to be summoned ; the writs, it should seem, that had been issued out for the calling of a parliament, and the elections that had thereupon been made, becoming void and of none effect. All this was transacted in the midst of almost a dead calm, no mischief was attempted, no disorders raised or fomented, but all was peace, acquiescence, and submission.

On the 28th of December, the prince having received this address, replied, that he would, according to their advice, endeavour to secure the peace of the nation till the meeting of the convention ; and that in order to the said meeting, he would issue out his letters to the several counties and towns ; that he would take care the revenue should be applied to the most proper uses the exigencies of affairs required ; that he would do his best to put Ireland into such a condition as might best maintain the protestant religion and English interest in that kingdom ; and that he would at all times hazard himself for the laws and liberties of these kingdoms, and the preservation of the protestant faith ; it being the very end for which he came.

News now came, that the king was safe arrived in France ; and that he was gone to the queen, who was at Paris. The French king at first prepared the castle of Vincennes for their reception and entertainment ; but their majesties afterwards removed to St. Germains. The king thus absent in a strange land, the Lord Tyrconnel, Lieutenant of Ireland, nevertheless remained firm and stedfast to his majesty, with a numerous army of papists ; while Lord Inchiquin headed another of protestants, and had taken Londonderry, and some other strong towns in that kingdom.

And now being at liberty to go where I pleased,

on the 22d of January, 1688-9, I repaired to London: where being arrived, I was presently sensible of a great alteration; the guards, and other parts of the army, which both for their persons and gallantry were an ornament to the place, were sent to quarter at a distance, while the streets swarmed with ill-favoured and ill-accoutred Dutchmen, and other strangers of the prince's army; and yet the city seemed to be mightily pleased with their deliverers, nor perceived their deformity, or the oppression they laboured under, by far more unsupportable than ever they had suffered from the English.

Though the convention met on the 22d, there was nothing considerable done till the 28th, when, the settlement of the nation being taken into consideration by the commons, they voted, "That King James II. having endeavoured to subvert the government of this kingdom, by breaking the original contract between the king and the people; and, by the advice of Jesuits, and other wicked persons, having subverted the fundamental laws; and having, lastly, withdrawn himself from the kingdom, had abdicated the government, and the throne was thereby vacant." The next day the lords entered upon the consideration of the same; and several motions were made, as there had been the day before in the house of commons. Some would have had the king recalled upon terms; but these were few: others would have had the government continued in the king's name, while the prince was invested with the executive power by the stile or title of regent, or protector: some, again, were for having it that the king should forfeit the crown, and the prince be elected thereto; and others,

again, were for having the prince and princess crowned, as in the case of Philip and Mary; and that the prince should be king by descent in right of his wife, while no notice was to be taken of the Prince of Wales, who should be rendered incapable to succeed, as a Roman-catholic, he having been baptized in that church. On the 30th, their lordships voted a concurrence with the commons as to the main point, the vacancy of the throne; but could not agree with them as to certain words: and so adjourned the debate till the next day, though it was carried by no more than so small a majority as three. The same day the commons resolved, first, that it had been found inconsistent for a protestant kingdom to be governed by a popish prince; secondly, that a committee should be appointed to bring in general heads of what was absolutely necessary for the better security of our religion, laws, and liberty. This last vote or resolution was of most high importance, and wisely intended to give birth to the conditions on which the person that next filled the throne should be entitled thereto, and to bind him down to a more strict observance of what ought to be, than had heretofore been the case. Meanwhile, the prince seemed not at all to concern himself with what was going forward; and only desired that, the circumstances of Holland and Ireland requiring it, they would make all possible dispatch, and come to as early a conclusion as they could.

The next day was appointed a festival of thanksgiving for his highness's arrival, as it was worded; “To deliver us from popery and slavery;” but it was observed that the public expressions of joy flowed not to the height expected; which, whence it came to

pass, might be in part accounted for here, but may be better deferred to a little distance of time. The same day the lords sat, and resumed their debate ; but differed with the commons as to their term, *abdicated*, and would have had, *deserted*, substituted in lieu thereof ; nor could they quite agree with them, that the throne was absolutely vacant ; so that there was still room for the constitution of a regent or protector, or even for a revocation of the king himself upon terms.

In the midst of this, on the 1st of February, I saw Lord Hallifax, in company with Mr. Seymour, the quondam speaker of the commons, a man of great parts, and much for continuing the power in the king's name, and even in his person, could we but be secured from the danger of popery. Dr. Burnet also was present, who with great violence argued that the prince was to be crowned ; and urged, that England could never be happily settled till his highness was at the helm, and this kingdom in strict conjunction with Holland. Seymour said his proposals were impracticable ; for that if the prince was king, he must maintain himself as such, by the means of an army, which was not to be relied on against their natural sovereign. He observed, that as the late English army would not fight for popery, they would be as backward in fighting against their king ; and that it was impossible for England and Holland to join heartily in one and the same interest, being suitors, as they were, to one and the same mistress, namely, *trade*. That same night my Lord Hallifax told me, he was not at first in the secret of the prince's expedition ; but that as his highness was now with us, and upon so good

an occasion, he thought we were obliged to stand by and defend him. I told him, I had heard Lord Danby expected to be beforehand with him in the prince's good graces ; but he gave me some reasons to make me believe otherwise ; took notice that his lordship began to lag in his zeal ; and concluded that the said lord could have no hopes of being treasurer, his highness having declared he would have commissioners for the execution of that office. His lordship then proceeded to tell me he himself should be employed, and offered to me some arguments to prove the legality of serving under the future government ; particularly that though the king had relinquished his function, the constitution was not for that reason to be suffered to fall ; that fall it must, if men would not act under those to whom it was delegated ; in fine, that in our present circumstances the *salus populi* was to be the *lex suprema*. His lordship then continued, that there were so many who declined to serve, and so few who were fit for it, that if I had a mind to engage myself, there would be, doubtless, room sufficient for me ; and that, after things were upon a stable foundation, I might entertain some thoughts of being sent ambassador to some prince or state, whereby I might be out of the way, till the clouds which hung over us, were dispersed and blown away. His lordship then offered to carry me the next morning to the prince, whom I had not yet seen ; advised me to be cautious of the company I kept, and to be very circumspect in all my actions and behaviour.

The next day I went to meet the marquis, who was with the prince in his bedchamber ; but coming out to me, he told me his highness could not be publicly

seen for two hours yet to come ; and advised me to defer the waiting on him till the next day. At the same time the lords, who were for conferring the crown immediately on the prince, began to apprehend the adverse parties might prevail against them ; wherefore they found means to stir up the people, who in a tumultuous manner, offered a petition to the two houses of parliament, that they would crown both the Prince and Princess of Orange, and take speedy care of liberty and property, as well as for the defence of Ireland. But the lords rejected it, because it was not signed ; and the commons did the same, saying, they would not be awed in their votes, nor be directed ; for that they ought to be free. The very same day the king sent two letters, the one to the lords, the other to the commons ; but the messenger not being present to testify they were brought from the king, they were laid by, and the person who brought them was ordered to attend on the lords the Monday morning next. At this very juncture I was told, by a court-lady, that it was much wondered my friend, the Marquis of Halifax, had been so eager for the king's having abdicated the government, when he absolutely knew his majesty would never have gone, if he had not been frightened into it. She assured me his lordship had treated with the king to come again into business, a few weeks before the prince's intention was certainly known : that she was the very person his lordship sent to the king ; that the king actually gave him a meeting at her house : that they had agreed upon terms ; nay, what is more, that his lordship had treated with some priests for his return to court. That upon this account his majesty particularly de-

pended upon him, when he named him one of the commissioners to go to the prince; that after having conferred with his highness, he sent the king a private letter, intimating an ill design against his person, and that this was the real cause of his majesty's flight, and the departure of the queen. That after the king was brought back, Lord Hallifax was one of the peers that came and admonished him, on behalf of the prince, to leave Whitehall, for Rochester or Ham, within the short space of two hours; and that his lordship's reason for conveying this ungrateful message to his majesty, was, that he was assured the prince's party had in council resolved to seize on his person, and imprison him. That upon the whole it must be notoriously known to his lordship, that the king had no manner of inclination to withdraw either the first or the second time; and that he was compelled thereto out of a principle of mere self-preservation. She farther imparted to me, that the king was so terribly possessed of his danger, and so deeply afflicted when the Princess Anne went away, that it disordered him in his understanding; but that he recovered pretty well upon his return. She continued, that the second time he went away, he so little designed any such thing, that he knew not which way to set forward; one while he resolved to go northward, and throw himself into the hands of the Lord Danby; another, he had thoughts of going to the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishop of Winchester: that she herself was sent to these last, to know if they would receive and secure him: and that they neither accepted the motion, nor rejected it. She told me moreover, that the lords intended to make use

of the marquis for the prince's service, but were far from intending him any advantage thereby. That his lordship having been the first that advised the taking away of the charters, he would be in some danger of being called to an account for it, as soon as the government was well settled; as well as for other articles, he having great enemies among the party to which he adhered. At last she desired me, if possible, so to contrive that she might speak to his lordship, and endeavour to moderate him so far as to make him think well of a regency, and not hurry on so fast for a forfeiture or abdication. I told her I would do what I could in it; but was sensible his lordship was too far engaged to recede. The same lady again told me a great lord of Scotland had, but a few days before, assured her, that in case the two houses agreed to make the government vacant, that kingdom would choose for herself, be no more a province to England, nor give any longer attendance at the door of an English court.

The lords this day did nothing more than order the eighth of February, which used to be kept as the anniversary of his majesty's accession, to be no longer observed as a festival; and sent down their resolution to the commons concerning the abdication, and other matters thereto relating: which the commons, the day after, taking into consideration, they resolved to adhere, *totidem verbis*, to their first vote.

On the 2d I saw the Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Burlington, the Earl of Scarsdale, and some other lords, who had all been active in the prince's cause, which they now seemed in some measure to repent. Some of them said, the thing had run a length they little expected; others, that they could never have be-

lieved the prince would have contended for the crown ; but all agreed in opinion, it was to be set on the head of the princess, and so descend in its right course : and the Earl of Scarsdale particularly told me, the Princess of Denmark was very sensible of the error she had committed in leaving her father, to make herself of a party with the prince ; who now in return was endeavouring to put her by her right, and to obtain priority of succession before her.

On the 4th, the lords having sent down to the commons their reasons for abiding by their word *deserted*, and why they thought there was no vacancy ; the house thereupon divided ; the ayes being 183, and the noes 251. The next day the houses had a free conference ; the issue of which was, that the day after, being the 6th, the lords concurred with the commons. A vacancy being thus on all hands pronounced, the lords proceeded to consider in what manner the throne was to be filled ; and in the end passed a vote, that the Prince and Princess of Orange should be proclaimed by the style and title of King William and Queen Mary. But the commons proceeded a step farther, and voted that all sanction of the laws, and the negative voice, should be vested in the king singly ; declaring it improper there should be two negatives : that the succession of the crown should be to the new king and queen, and to the survivor of the two ; then to their issue, and in default thereof, to the Princess Anne and her issue ; and in default of such issue, to the issue of the king in case he should have any by another venter, and so to the right line, papists being always excluded.

On the 8th, the commons having completed a scheme of grievances and usurpations on the rights of the sub-

ject, sent up the same to the lords for their concurrence, intending to lay them before the prince for redress, at the same time they made him a tender of the crown of England with all its dependencies.

Meanwhile the Marquis of Halifax desired me to get the lady, I just now mentioned, to my house; where he gave her a meeting on the 9th; and was two hours in conversation with her. During which, he afterwards told me, she was so free with him as to say, she wondered he, of all men living, should contend that the king had abdicated, when he knew himself to have been so directly instrumental in forcing him away, by sending him word, that if he staid his life would be in danger: that for this notice and advice the king owned himself indebted to him for his life now, as before that he was not excluded: that to this his lordship replied, the king had done ill by him, in sending him a messenger to the prince, and going away before he could return: that to this she returned, his lordship was not to say that to her, who actually knew he first sent him away, and was then angry because he went: that then my lord complained to her of the king's never sending for him till the prince was landed: that this also she contradicted, by observing that his lordship knew her to be privy to frequent invitations he had from the king, and that he might have had his own terms long before, if he had not stood so aloof: that she then remonstrated to him, that though he was so deeply at present embarked in another interest, he could not be well too cautious; for that the Earl of Danby would most certainly get the start of him, and play him the same in this court, Lord Sunderland had in the other; that all they were now

doing, tottered upon an uncertain foundation ; that Scotland would most assuredly choose her own king ; that Ireland was probably lost and gone, the Lord Deputy Tyrconnel being there at the head of an army of 40,000 men ; and that England herself was much divided, and in great distraction ; with much more to the same effect : that his lordship himself confessed there were but small hopes of a lasting peace from this settlement, though by far the best that could be formed at this time of the day ; and that as he was well aware of the great interest she had with the king, he hoped she would upon occasion be his friend, as he would be hers whenever she might stand in need of him. The truth is, she dealt more roundly with him than any body else could have ventured to do with so great a man ; but his lordship knew her well, and was prepared for all she had to say ; telling me himself, it was but prudence to lend an ear to every body.

There were most certainly great and violent discontents at this time, and the causes thereof were these : the prince had declared he had no design upon the crown, and now sought it all he could : he came to settle the protestant religion, and yet brought over 4000 papists with him in his army ; a number not far short of what the king had in his ; but then the former were foreigners ; the latter, for the most part, English : public declaration had been made that the birth of the Prince of Wales was false or supposititious : that there was a private treaty made with France to enslave England ; that the murder of the late king and of the Earl of Essex would be amply made out ; and yet nothing of all this appeared, excepting some small circumstances relating to the Earl of Essex : then, the prince kept

his Dutch forces in town, while the English were marched off to remote quarters ; his highness declared he intended to keep his own men here, and to send ours to Holland and Ireland ; the Princess Anne of Denmark was postponed in the succession ; several noblemen were disappointed of posts and preferments they deservedly expected for joining with his highness, because they would not vote so readily for him as he imagined ; in short, the letters his majesty sent to the two houses, were not so much as opened ; and trade (the Dutch being a frugal people) seemed to be much abated in London, to what it had been in the king's time. These were the causes of the discontents that now broke out and appeared.

On the 11th, the two houses having agreed upon a list of grievances and usurpations, and the Princess of Orange being now safe arrived ; they both in a body attended their highnesses on the 12th, who sat in two chairs of state, in the banqueting-house, Whitehall ; where the speaker of the house of lords having read their grievances and desired redress, at the same time made them an offer of the crowns of England, France, and Ireland, with all the dependencies and dominions thereunto belonging. The prince in a short speech told them, he did accept of the same, and would do all he could for the preservation of their liberties ; and then went away with the princess ; while the heralds and several of the nobility proceeded to proclaim them king and queen, in the usual form. The remainder of the day was spent in joy and acclamation ; though some there were who had but a sorrowful countenance in the midst thereof.

The chief of the articles the convention demanded

redress of, were ; suspension of the laws, or their execution by the king, without the consent of parliament ; the pretended power to dispense with laws ; the court of ecclesiastical commissioners ; the raising of money by prerogative ; the keeping up a standing force in times of peace, without the consent of parliament ; the obstructions made to the free choice of members to represent the people ; the bars to freedom of speech in parliament ; and the imposition of excessive bail, or fines.

The houses then desired the oaths of allegiance and supremacy might be suppressed, and the two following taken in their stead : “ *I A. B.* do sincerely promise and swear, that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to their majesties King William and Queen Mary ; so help me God.” “ *I A. B.* do swear, that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and position, ‘ that princes ex-communicated or deprived by the pope or any authority of the See of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects or any other whatsoever :’ and I do declare, that no foreign prince, person, prelate, or state, hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority ecclesiastical or civil, within this realm ; so help me God.”

The days following, the houses being adjourned for some time, were taken up in congratulations to the new king, whose numbers, on this occasion, were unspeakable ; in naming and swearing a new privy-council ; by whose advice, his majesty began first with appointing the great officers of the court and the kingdom ; while the grand expectation was, who would have the preference, Hallifax or Danby. The latter certainly hoped to be lord-treasurer ; but the former assured me,

he was disappointed, and obliged to take up with the presidency of the council; a place of great honour and credit, but very small profit; while Hallifax himself was made lord privy seal, of his own choice; an office of great trust, and worth full three thousand pounds a year. Before this was publicly known, his lordship told me Danby was down in the mouth, and would not suffer his neighbours to be a little quiet about him, and that for his own part, as they yet stood seemingly fair together, he would give him no just occasion of offence.

The king being thus seated in the throne, the great business was to procure such a parliament as would confirm what the convention had done; and because a new election might carry some hazard with it, or, as was pretended, might be the loss of time, when the exigencies of the state required such immediate dispatch; it was, after great disputes between the lawyers, as to the legality of the thing, and warm debates in both houses, agreed that the convention should be converted into a parliament; which was accordingly done on the 23d, by a bill framed for that purpose; which having first passed the house of lords, was transmitted down to the commons; who having passed the same, it was at length offered to the royal assent, which was granted of course.

And thus was a parliament obtained; after an extraordinary manner, it must be confessed; but being thus constituted, they proceeded to prepare several bills, and particularly one for a comprehension, and another for the toleration of protestant dissenters; which being moved by Lord Nottingham in the house of peers on the 28th, was seconded by some bishops, though



DANIEL Earl of NOTTINGHAM.

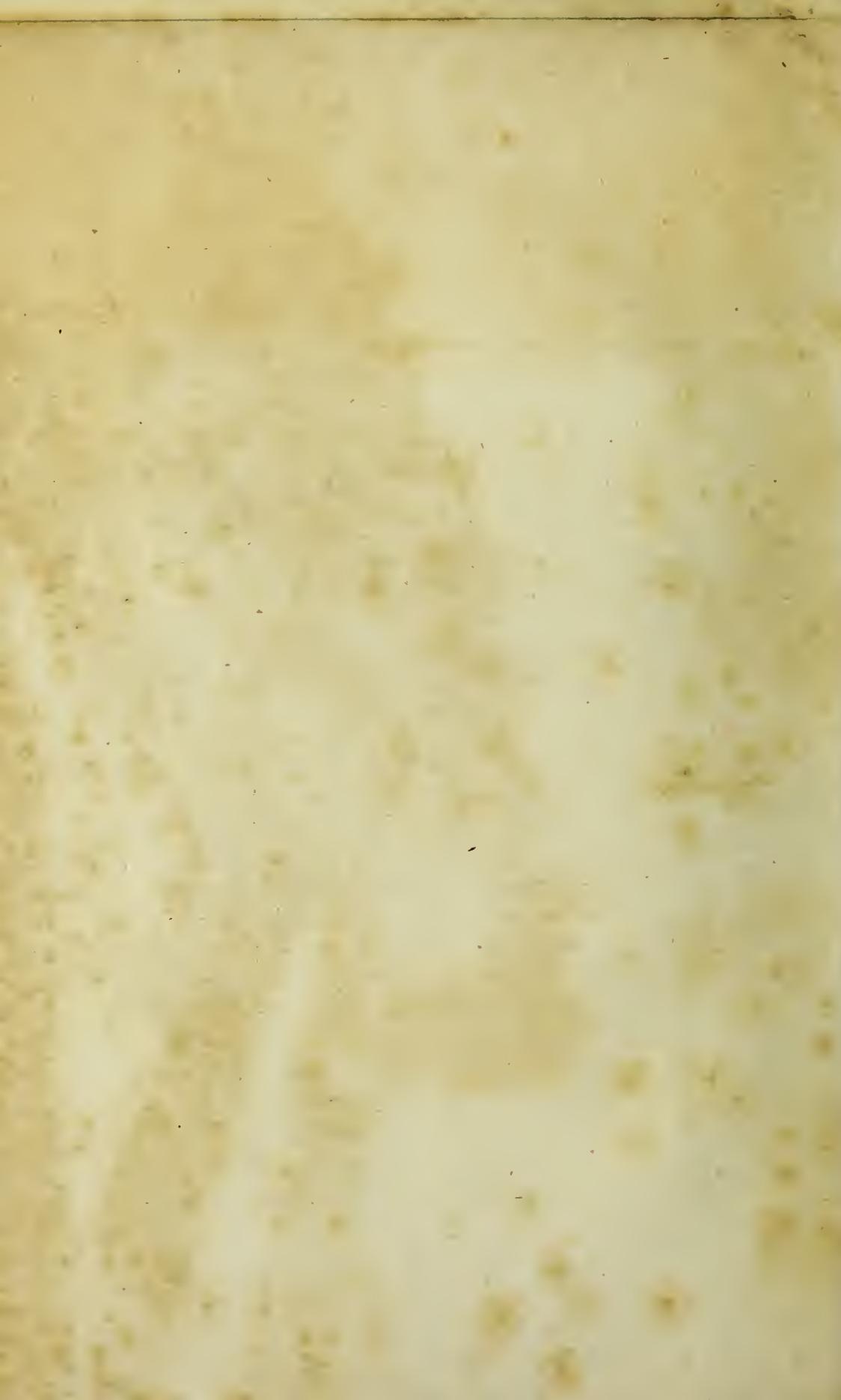


more out of fear than inclination ; and a third for the raising of 400,000 pounds by a tax upon land.

And now Lord Arran, who had been a little before assaulted in Leicester-fields by eight ruffians, and had, at a meeting of the Scotch nobility in London, proposed to recall King James, was committed prisoner to the Tower ; and many of the same nobility being on the point of setting forward for the convention in their kingdom, were stopped. The same day I dined with the Earl of Danby, who treated me with more intimacy and freedom than I expected ; his lordship said he had made a fair report of me to the king, when he gave him an account of the surprisal of York ; but I found him extremely cooled with regard to affairs, as now managed. He said, that being embarked with his all, he was sorry to see things no better conducted ; that Ireland was in a manner become invincible, by our neglect of sending forces thither before now ; that with regard to this, and other material points, equally unheeded, he had been pressing with the king to a degree even of incivility ; that he had told his majesty, he plainly saw he did all he could to encourage the presbyterians and to dishearten the church, which could not but be absolutely prejudicial both to himself and the government ; though he at the same time observed, that his majesty interfered but little in councils, being prevented therefrom partly by inclination, and partly by want of health. Indeed the king looked but ill, and the difficulty he laboured under in swallowing, seemed to foretell him a man of short continuance in this world. His lordship farther told me, he had been appointed president of the council quite against his will,

after the king had declared he could not give him the staff of treasurer, determined, as he was, that the treasury should be in the hands of commissioners; that he had been offered to be secretary of state and president both at the same time, and that he had declined the first; that all he had asked of the king for himself, was a patent to which he had a right by a former grant, and that he would also be pleased to gratify some gentlemen who had, upon this revolution, joined him in the north; in fine, that the king had told him it would be by no means for his interest to be out of all business; and that he had, in a manner, forced the presidentship upon him. His lordship expressed himself doubtful of the continuance of affairs, as they now stood; and informed me that King James had sent down to him in the north, offering to throw himself into his hands before he went away. To this, he said, his answer was, by Charles Bertie, who brought the message, that his own force, which he depended upon in the north, was not sufficient to trust to; but that if his majesty would bring a considerable party with him, and come without his papists, he would sooner lose his life than he should suffer the least injury; but that the king having no mind to part with his Romans, would not come. His lordship then said, that if the king would but quit his papists, it might possibly not be too late yet for him. He then observed, that the Duke of Gordon, a papist, and governor of Edinburgh-castle, the only magazine in Scotland, who was lately ready and willing to surrender it to any body, now held it out obstinately for King James; and that the discontents in England grew greater daily and greater. He then reflected on Lord Hallifax, the king, and all about him,





as most strangely infatuated with notions of their own security; and particularly animadverted on the last-mentioned lord for insisting with such violence, in a speech of his, that the prince should be intitled legal and rightful king of this realm, (which I suppose the Lord Hallifax did with a view of continuing the old oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and to obviate all scruple about taking the new), saying it was mere nonsense; for that, had the Prince of Wales been made king, he could never have been deemed our lawful sovereign while his father lived. But his lordship nevertheless appeared very serious and urgent about the legality of taking the new oaths, and condemned the bishops for their squeamishness in that respect, though they themselves had had so large a hand in bringing about this great and extraordinary change; and thereupon quoted Lord Nottingham's speech, who, in the house of lords, had observed, that though he had never in the least consented to this revolution, but had with all his might opposed the prince's accession, as contrary to law; yet since his highness was here, and we must owe our protection to him as king *de facto*, he thought it but just and legal to swear allegiance to him. I have been the more exact in the particulars of this conversation, to give the better insight into the thoughts of the greatest men upon this occasion; though I wondered his lordship would venture to be so very undisguised with me; but he was sure I would not betray him, though even to Lord Hallifax.

The very same day, after several attempts of the sort, the Marquis of Hallifax, now again lord privy-seal, presented me to the king, having before requested him that a young son of mine might have my company,

and that he might be excused from duty a year or two, on account of his education ; but his majesty thought it an ill precedent, and would give no ear to it. Having kissed his hand, I told him I had had the honour of a trust upon me from the late king to the very last, having been a stranger to his designs till I saw them in execution, and that I could not then, in honour or justice, comply with them ; but that I was a firm protestant, and had upon that account been a sufferer in my estate ; concluding, that I should be strictly faithful to my duty wheresoever I served. My Lord Hallifax then desired I might keep my company without paying any attendance, to which I subjoined, “ If you have resolved to take away my two governments of York and Burlington, I hope you will not expect I should wait on a single company.” His majesty said, “ No ; he did not expect attendance from me.” Which was all that passed.

On the 1st of March, I was told by a lady whom King James had trusted with some seals and jewels, that his majesty had written her word to put them into the hands of a certain person he sent for them. She shewed me the letter, which was dated the 17th of February, new-stile ; whereby I understood that he was to set out for Ireland as the very next day, and that he depended upon his old friends to assist him in his cause. This lady told me the French King had supplied him with a great treasure of money, and 6000 Swiss protestants : that he intended to go through Ireland for Scotland, there to call a parliament, instead of the proposed convention ; and that thence he would march into England, and put himself entirely into the hands of the protestant interest. She added, that as she had a friendship for the lord privy-seal, she had a mind to

disclose herself to him, if with any safety she might do so. I told her I would speak to his lordship that very night, and let her know farther.

Having an opportunity of speaking to him accordingly, I failed not to be as good as my word; though I must own, the topic being of so nice and tender a sort, I did it with great caution. However, I gave him plainly to understand, that the chief motive which induced the lady to desire a meeting with him, was to impart to him what might be for his own good, and the service of the public. Hereupon he began to be more free and open with me than he had hitherto been, on this chapter; and I told him, in general, that great designs were on foot: he said he believed it, and that though men seemed to be for the present interest, as most prevalent, it was not altogether discreet to venture too far; that if matters really were as I had said, it was but safe to carry it fair with those in the opposition, and to let some people know he spoke always with great respect of King James; that if we came to blows, it was uncertain who would strike hardest; and that he should be glad to meet the lady at my house, whenever she pleased. But his lordship, however, said all imaginable care would be taken to ward off any danger that might threaten us; that an army of 20,000 men would be presently raised; that all suspicious persons would be secured, the parliament intending to invest the king with a power to imprison whom he pleased, and to keep them in safe custody till they came to a trial; and in fine, that the parliament would most plentifully furnish the king for the prosecution of the war. At this time several lords and gentlemen of both houses withdrew to their several countries; and I was

told that some who were outwardly great friends to the present government, were treating for terms on the other side; which I communicated to his lordship, and particularly made mention of some he little suspected. Whereupon his lordship said, that if King James was actually driving on at the rate reported, the papists would certainly contrive some how or other to assassinate or kill King William, well knowing what a task it would be to defend the crown on the head of a woman; with much more to the same effect.

I waited on Lord Belassis, first commissioner of the treasury under the late king; who told me, that though he was himself a papist, he had been quite averse to the measures which had been taken to promote the catholic religion; but that his council never had weight, the warm-ones having insinuated to the king that it came from a man old and timorous, who, having a great estate, did not care to run any hazard of it. He then observed, that as there was such a number of great men combined in this revolt, it was almost impossible to think the king, being a papist as he was, should ever again be restored; but that if he would but be a protestant, it would certainly happen in a very short time. This lord was very deservedly esteemed one of the wisest men of his party.

Meanwhile, (March 3), the two houses were at some stand about the taking of the new oaths. The commons made scarce any scruple to swear; but some of the lords refused so to do, and a great number of bishops, conceiving they could not lawfully comply, seeing they had before engaged themselves under oaths to King James; and even those who did comply, did it as a local and temporary duty naturally resulting from the

protection they owed to King William and Queen Mary. This day Lord Hallifax met the lady I just now mentioned to have received a letter from King James : she dealt very frankly with him, but durst not tell him all she knew. However, he desired her to be his friend if any alteration of affairs should by any means be brought to pass.

Now the two houses had, some days before, voted to stand by King William and Queen Mary with their lives and fortunes ; the commons had completed the bill for laying a tax upon land, and deliberated on other ways for levying of money for the crown, as well to raise men, as to supply the loss of that branch of the revenue called hearth-money, which they were, by an act for that purpose, taking quite away, as troublesome to collect, and oppressive in its nature ; while the fears greatly and greatly increased, that King James was actually in Ireland, and that Scotland would not fail to take his part : wherefore commissions were given out for the raising of 10,000 foot, and twenty shillings advance allowed to every man : but notwithstanding this encouragement, and though the colonels were most of them men of quality and great interest, it was much apprehended the intended troops would not be easily collected together. The French King had, for his Irish expedition, furnished King James with a squadron of fourteen men of war, six lesser frigates, and three fireships, all well manned and fitted ; as also with a sum of 200,000*l.* in ready money, and 50,000 pistoles as a present for his pocket, together with plate, tents, and a most royal and splendid equipage. He assisted him also with eight experienced field-officers, one hundred of inferior note, a guard of one hundred Swiss, a

band of skilful pioneers, 15,000 of his own natural subjects, arms for 40,000 men more, cannon and ammunition in a great abundance, and over and above, made him an offer of 15,000 of his French troops; but King James excused himself upon this head, saying "he would succeed by the help of his own subjects, or perish in the attempt." In the midst of this threatening danger, Lord Hallifax told me the commons were still bent upon pursuing him and Lord Danby; and that some of them had declared they would give no more money till the king had dismissed them, and some other of his officers; but, said his lordship, the king is not to be wrought upon as they imagine; he is very well able to defend himself. They were angry with this nobleman for advising King Charles II. to take away the charter of the city of London, and for opposing the bill of exclusion. But I told him it was quite foolish for men who had raised a new fabric, immediately to pull down the main support of it. His lordship said he was very little solicitous whether they succeeded in their attempt or not, and that it would be no great mortification to him if he did surrender his place. His lordship then begged of me to endeavour a reconciliation between him and a lady I had formerly brought to him about some business wherein she thought herself ill used; for that she had a good interest with King James.

There seemed now to be great discontents among all sorts of men; affairs looked somewhat embroiled; and on the 13th of March I heard Lord Privy-Seal say, that in the posture the nation now stood, the King (James) if but a protestant, could not be kept out four months; nay, Lord Danby went farther, and averred, that if he would but give us satisfaction as to our religion, as he

easily might, it would be very hard to make head against him: sayings which I thought very extraordinary to fall from such great men, and of the times too. A few days afterwards, (on the 17th), Lord Dunbarton's regiment, which he had long since brought out of France, and was now quartered at Ipswich, being all Scotch, and consisting of 1300 men, chose rather to march off in a body with their arms and four pieces of cannon, towards Scotland, than obey orders, which were to embark and sail for Holland. Lord Privy-Seal doing me the honour of a visit this day, told me the king had sent two regiments of Dutch horse, and one of dragoons, after them; that if the Scotch regiment had done this without confederacy, they were all lost; but that if any other of our forces were in the secret, and under engagement to join and support them, there might be danger in the thing. I now perceived his lordship to be very uneasy that Danby, under pretence of illness, so much absented himself from business; and very much displeased that some, very little qualified, had so wonderfully, by his means, got into posts of consequence; and particularly that Lord Willoughby, a very young man, and quite a stranger to business, should be the chancellor of the exchequer. I told his lordship, I wondered much more that Lord Mordaunt, who never saw a hundred pounds together of his own, should pretend to be the first commissioner of the treasury: I then dealt very freely with him as to the apparent uncertainty of the times; desired him to be cautious and circumspect, and assured him I wished his safety and his family's, as much as my own. His lordship then observed, among other things, that the king used no arts; to which I replied, "that, in my opinion, some arts were

necessary in our government." "I think so too," said he; "we act a little too plainly." I acquainted his lordship with some particulars which caused a murmuring in the town, and of some which caused the same in the country; whereupon he said, "Come, Sir John; we have wives and children, we must consider them, and not venture too far." He then proceeded to intimate, that if a change should happen, there would be a general pardon; though, said he, "I hear there is one which creeps up and down, wherein I am excepted, but (said he) as you know I gave you some oblique hints of what was likely to be brought about, (though so obscure that I must own I did not take them), so you must let me know what you hear on the other side." And indeed I loved him so well, that I was always ready enough to communicate to him whatever I heard, relating either to the public or his own private service, provided I did thereby no prejudice to any particular person, or incurred the guilt of betraying what was told me in pure confidence.

On the 22d, the lord privy-seal told me the rebels (meaning the Scotch regiment) had submitted themselves to the king's mercy; that their officers would have persuaded them to fight, though the Dutch were four times their number; and that they were in confederacy with others, who, as it happened, did not dare to lift up their heads. His lordship continued, that there were now great hopes of Scotland; and indeed the kirk party, which declared for King William, was by much the strongest there. King James appeared too late in Ireland; but he had this to plead, the winds would not permit him to stir out of Brest sooner than he did. The church of England was now furiously

driven at by some in both houses; King William being seemingly a greater friend to Calvinism. In the house of lords it was strongly debated on the 23d, and particularly by the lord privy-seal, (which lost him some credit), that the reception of the Sacrament should be no longer a part of the test, as required by the statute of Charles II.; and in the house of commons it was stiffly contended, that the king in his coronation oath should not particularly bind himself to the church of England as by law established; but both these points being carried in favour of the church, evinced her interest to be stronger than any other in parliament, and would, as it was thought, induce the king to court her a little more than he had done.

The affairs of all Europe were now seemingly at a stand, though preparations were every-where making for war; the empire was mustering up all her quotas against France on the one hand, and the Turk on the other; Spain betrayed a willingness to side with the emperor; Sweden, Holland, and England, were ready to do the same; while Denmark seemed to be fixed to a neutrality. The pope was still in anger with France, though she did all she could to mollify him, pretending to blow up the flames of a religious war; but this was not to serve the purpose at present, his holiness thinking the King of France was grown too big for his neighbours, and that therefore regard was to be had chiefly now for his temporals; the church was out of the question, the world was now uppermost, and conscience was pusillanimity and indolence, according to the known and avowed maxims of the Roman creed.

It happened this day (March 28), that I met with the Bishop of St. David's, who asked if I thought he might

safely take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; he being one of the prelates that had hitherto stood out, and were now cited to appear before the house of lords, I told him it were fittest for me to be advised by him in such a case, and that certainly his own conscience could not but dictate to him right: but I found he was already resolved, and accordingly he went the next day and complied. Meanwhile the archbishop was obstinate in his refusal, and would not so much as repair to the house of lords, disavowing the authority either of the king or the parliament. The lords sent his grace a letter, admonishing him to come to the house; but he wrote to excuse himself, by an answer directed, not to the lord privy-seal, or the speaker of the house of lords, but to the Lord Marquis of Hallifax. The house voted this answer to be not satisfactory, but thought it unadvisable to pursue the point too far, sensible of the ill blood that had been set on float, by the late severity of usage towards the episcopal order. A day or two afterwards, the church of England carried a second vote in the house of commons, and indeed it was high time for her sons to exert themselves, the dissenters having not only prevailed that the oaths meant for her security, some prayers in the liturgy, and certain ceremonies should be altered or dispensed with; but a motion had likewise been made that there might be some alteration in the very creed. In a few days afterwards, a very extraordinary debate arose in both houses, between the dissenters and the members of the church; the former pushing their act of comprehension and toleration farther than the latter were willing it should go. They were almost equally matched, and sometimes one carried a vote in both houses, and sometimes the other.

On the 1st of April, a number of regiments, though many of them were unarmed, unclothed, and in want of pay to clear off their quarters, were ordered to march northward ; it being past all doubt that King James was now in Ireland, and intended for Scotland, though the kirk party in the convention of that kingdom were for opposing him. Money was at this time very scarce at court, and yet great preparations were daily making for the coronation of King William and Queen Mary. But though necessaries were certainly wanting for the army, the court and the due support of the government, it was not that the parliament was backward in giving, but the money could not be raised soon enough, the city refusing to advance any money upon the acts that were passed ; for great discontents were visible to every eye ; which seemed rather to increase daily than to diminish.

A few days afterwards, (April 7), I saw Lord Privy-Seal, who told me that if the church of England was a sufferer, she might thank herself for it, her pretences being too large ; that the commons were so slow in their proceedings, that it looked as if they thought the whole world was confined to Westminster ; that the king also was very dilatory, to the great hindrance of business, though dispatch could at no time be ever more required ; his lordship continued, that there was a necessity for acting with so many fools ; that they alone were wise who had nothing to do ; and moreover, that he had heard there were some Irish landed in Scotland ; that Scotland, however, would give them but a cool reception ; that King James had nothing to depend on here but the army, which would be so disposed of as to be unable to do any thing for him ; and that if he came not very soon, he would be disappointed of

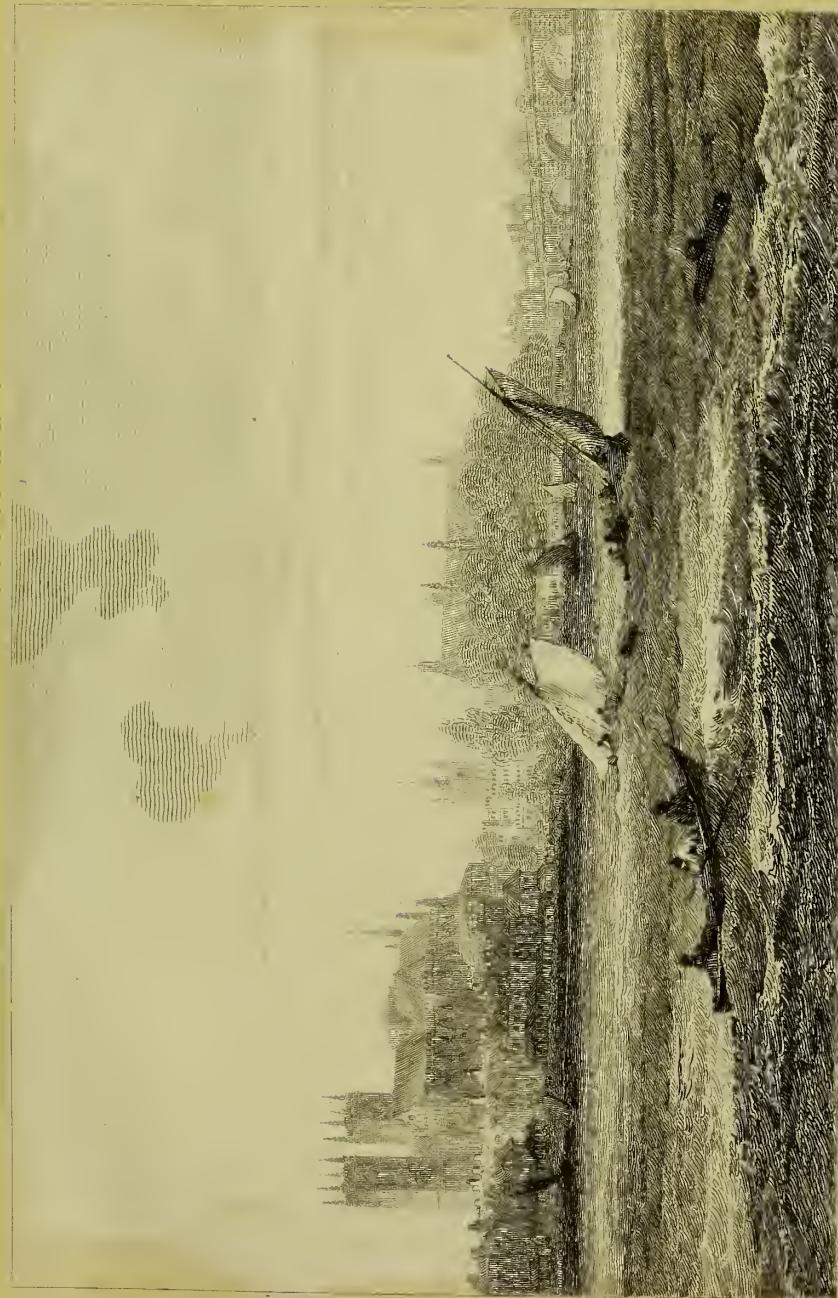
this his only hope: he concurred with me, that the Earl of Danby had procured the government of Hull as a place of retreat, where he might make his own terms in case of a change of the times; and assured me he was more afraid of the consequences of King William's cough, which increased upon him with great violence, than of any thing else. I must confess I, upon this occasion, temporised a little, it being neither safe nor prudent to be too open with a privy-counsellor, and so great a minister, especially as I had been guilty of freedoms with his lordship to little or no purpose; though whenever he asked me my opinion, I never failed to deal uprightly with him.

But now let us take a view of the coronation of our new king and queen; a splendid sight as usual, which took place on the 11th of April, 1689: the procession to the Abbey was quite regular, though not so complete in the number of nobility, as at the two last solemnities of the same kind. Particular care was had of the house of commons, who had a part prepared for them to sit in; both in the church and in the hall. They had tables spread for them at the banquet, to which I, among other friends, had the honour of being admitted, as well as to be with them throughout the whole of the show; so that I had a very fair opportunity of seeing all that past. The Bishop of London crowned them both, assisted by the Bishop of Salisbury, the late Doctor Burnet, who preached the sermon; and two others. A few days afterward, being with Lord Privy-Seal, the Bishop of Salisbury came in, and complained heavily of the slow proceedings of the house of commons; saying, the Dutch would clap up a peace with France, if they did not mend their pace; and observed that the

Westminster Abbey.

Engraved by W. Cooke.

Drawn by S. Owen Esq.



church of England was in the fault, and expressed himself as if he thought they meant a kindness to King James by their method of procedure. Lord Privy-Seal agreed with him in his sentiments, and added, that the church people hated the Dutch, and had rather turn papists than receive the presbyterians among them; but that, on the other hand, these were to the full as rank and inveterate against those, and would marr all their business, by their inadvertence with regard to their bill of comprehension, and their ill-timing of other bills; in short, that they would disgust those from whom they looked for indulgence. They were both angry with the commons' address to the king the day before, desiring him to support and defend the church of England according to his former declaration, and to call a convocation of the clergy, which the bishop said would be the utter ruin of the comprehension scheme. In fine, the marquis took notice, that, at the rate we proceeded, the government could not but be very short-lived.

King James was all this while in Ireland; the convention of Scotland opposing him with might and main, and declaring the throne of their kingdom to be vacant: presently after we had advice that they had voted William and Mary to be king and queen of Scotland, converted their convention into a parliament, and invited the English forces on their borders to come into their kingdom, to be ready to assist them against King James and his friends; but at the same time, that they had prepared certain conditions, and drawn up a list of certain grievances, for the king to redress and assent to; and particularly that episcopacy should no longer have being in Scotland, and that the king should, with

regard to them, embrace the presbyterian persuasion. The Duke of Gordon, however, still kept the castle of Edinburgh.

At home the parliament was taken up with raising of money; and the commons addressed the king to declare war with France, and promised him all the needful supplies. But great heats broke out between the two houses about the oath-bill, the lords being willing to excuse the bishops, convinced that several of them would forfeit their sees rather than comply; while the commons urged that no soul should be excused. But as widely as they for the present differed about this, they concurred in the bill for the toleration of all protestant dissenters. On the 20th, the king gave a favourable answer to the address which reminded him of his promises to the church of England, and moved him for a convocation. A day or two after he returned answer to the commons' address, that he would declare war with France; telling them he complied with their request, and the rather, as the French king had in a manner begun; and assured them that whatever money they gave, should be faithfully applied to the desired effect.

About this time a very sad accident happened, which for a while was the discourse of the whole town: Mr. Temple, son to Sir William Temple, who had married a French lady with 20,000 pistoles; a sedate and accomplished young gentleman, who had lately by King William been made secretary of war; took a pair of oars, and drawing near the bridge, leapt into the Thames and drowned himself, leaving a note behind him in the boat, to this effect: " My folly in undertaking what I could not perform, whereby some mis-

fortunes have befallen the king's service, is the cause of my putting myself to this sudden end : I wish him success in all his undertakings, and a better servant." A dangerous thing it is for some constitutions to give way to discontent, and imaginary notion : but, not to digress on this melancholy subject ; the parliament proceeded to raise money, but upon terms, and persons, that gave great dissatisfaction. The poll was quite strict, scarce a soul being exempted therefrom, but such as received alms ; the house consenting to a grant of no less than four millions for one year only. And now Lord Hallifax told me that the Marquis of Caermarthen's retirement into the country, his pretences to be sick, and his so seldom appearing at court, instilled fresh jealousies of him ; that he had heard he should say, things could not long continue thus ; that his relations and friends were very dangerous in their discourse, and that he himself was very open ; that he found this new marquis had no mind to be inward or intimate with him ; that he supposed his lordship might imagine he had kept him at a distance from the treasurer's staff ; but that, imagine what he would, he did not altogether deserve it ; that, of all men in the world, the king never would have invested him with that office, nor, indeed, with any other that was very considerable, as he would find, if affairs but held out till September. Hereupon I acquainted his lordship with some grounds that made it suspected the president was discontented. His lordship then continued, that for his own part he found the king very well affected towards himself ; that his majesty did not only carry it fair to him, personally, but that from third hands he had it, that the king

used very kind expressions of him behind his back ; for that he gave him but very little trouble either on account of himself, or of other people, while the lord president knew no end of his importunities. This urged me to say, that I did not know what his lordship might thereby be a loser with the king, but that he gained much with others I was certain ; for that it was a common saying, no lord used his good offices for his countrymen but the lord president ; and this I observed, because the lord privy seal, though otherwise very kind and free with me, did not espouse my interest as I expected he would. But his lordship farther told me, that the king being so very inaccessible as he was, and confining himself so to Hampton, when there was such absolute need of the most stirring action, was the destruction of all business. That he had desired his majesty but to lie sometimes in town, and that his answer was, it was not to be done except his lordship desired to see him dead ; which, said my lord, was a very short answer. To conclude ; he proceeded to say, that if the king survived this summer, which he thought he fairly might, notwithstanding his consumptive disorder, or escaped the murderous hands of the papists, he doubted not but the government would stand firm, though it devolv'd to the queen singly ; but that, however, the concern he had for his family would naturally tempt him to act with all the moderation that might be ; that upon this consideration it was he had taken no great or additional places, no new honours, no blue ribbon, as others had done.

The next day I was to go to Hampton-court, where his lordship was to meet me, and present me to the

king before I went into the country. His lordship repeated his promises to do for me what he could, but said, it would be but discretion to let two or three months pass over-head, before I pressed matters too much, to the end we might the better see what was likely to become of things.

FINIS,

THE great case of the Lord MOUNT NORRIS, with observations on the character of the Earl of STRAFFORD, are extracted from the introductory chapter of that truly constitutional and valuable history of the Right Hon. Charles James Fox, page 10.

“ The prosecution of Lord Strafford, or rather the manner in which it was carried on, is less justifiable. He was doubtless a great delinquent, and well deserved the severest punishment; but nothing short of a clearly proved case of self-defence can justify, or even excuse, a departure from the sacred rules of criminal justice. For it can rarely indeed happen, that the mischief to be apprehended, from suffering any criminal, however guilty, to escape, can be equal to that resulting from the violation of those rules to which the innocent owe the security of all that is dear to them. If such have existed, they must have been in instances where trial

has been wholly out of the question, as in that of Cæsar and other tyrants; but when a man is once in a situation to be tried, and his person in the power of his accusers and his judges, he can no longer be formidable in that degree which alone can justify (if any thing can) the violations of the substantial rules of criminal proceedings."

The following case speaks more than volumes, of his lordship's tyrannical conduct in Ireland. The fifth article of the charge of the commons assembled in parliament against the Earl, runs thus :

" That the Earl of Strafford did use and exercise a power above, and against, and to the subversion of the said fundamental laws and established government of the said realm of Ireland; extending such his power to the goods, freeholds, inheritances, liberties, and lives of his Majesty's subjects of the said realm, and namely, the said Earl of Strafford, the 12th day of December 1635, in the time of full peace, did in the said realm of Ireland, give, and procure to be given against the Lord Mount Norris, (then and yet a peer of the said realm of Ireland, and then vice-treasurer and receiver-general of the realm of Ireland, and treasurer at war, and one of the principal secretaries of state, and keeper of the privy signet of the said kingdom), a sentence of death, by a council of war called together by the said Earl of Strafford, without any warrant or authority of law deserving any such punishment. And he the said Earl did also at Dublin, within the said realm of Ireland, in the month of March, in the 14th year of his Majesty's reign, without any legal or due proceedings or trial, give, and cause to be given, a sentence of death against one other of his Majesty's subjects, whose

name is yet unknown, and caused him to be put to death in execution of the same sentence. That the said Earl of Strafford, without any legal proceedings, and upon a paper petition of Richard Rolston, did cause the said Lord Mount Norris to be disseized, and put out of possession of his freehold and inheritance of his manor of Tymore, in the county of Armagh, in the kingdom of Ireland, the said Lord Mount Norris having been eighteen years before in quiet possession thereof."

*Government of England and Ireland, and of the persons
who exercised it from 1654, where Sir John Reresby's
Travels begin, to 1689, where his Memoirs end.*

The chief governor of Ireland in 1654, was General Fleetwood, who was succeeded in 1655 by Henry Cromwell, son to the protector Oliver; he was succeeded in 1659 by General Ludlow, John Jones, Mathew Tomlinson, Miles Corbet, Esqrs. and Major Bury, as commissioners for the parliament; who were succeeded in 1660 by Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, Sir Charles Coote and Major Bury; who were succeeded in 1660 by George Duke of Albemarle, who was declared lord lieutenant, but did not go over; John Lord Robarts, declared lord deputy, but did not go over; he was succeeded as lords justices of Ireland by Sir Maurice Eustace, Sir Charles Coote, the Earl of Montrath, and Roger Earl of Orrery; in 1661, as lords justices, Sir Maurice Eustace and Roger Earl of Orrery; in 1662, as lord lieutenant, James Duke of Ormond; in 1664, as lord deputy, Thomas Earl of Ossory; in 1665, as lord lieutenant, James Duke of Ormond; in 1668, as lord deputy, Thomas Earl of Ossory; in 1669, as lord lieutenant, John Lord Robarts; he was succeeded in 1670 by Lord Berkley of Stratton, who in 1671 was succeeded as lords justices by Michael Boyle, Archbishop of Dublin, and Sir Arthur Forbes; who were succeeded as lord lieutenant in 1671, by John Lord Berkley of Stratton; in 1672, by Arthur Capel, Earl of Essex; who in 1675 was succeeded by the Archbishop of Dublin and the Earl of Granard, as lords justices; who in 1676 were succeeded by the return of Arthur Earl of Essex; in 1677, by James Duke of Ormond; and in 1682, by the Earl of Arran, as lord deputy; in 1684, the Duke of Ormond returned, and in 1685, he was succeeded by Henry Hyde, second Earl of Clarendon; in 1686 the Earl of Tyrconnel; in 1686, Sir A. Fitton and the Earl of Clanrickard, as lords justices in the absence of Tyrconnel, who returned in 1687, and

continued till the arrival of the king in person at Dublin in 1689.

The English peerages created by Charles the Second, from 1650 to 1684, were one hundred and twenty-nine. The natural children of the king that were elevated to the peerage, were—1st, the Duke of Monmouth ; 2d, the Duke of Grafton ; 3d, Duke of Northumberland, extinct in 1716 ; 4th, the Earl of Plymouth, extinct in 1680 ; 5th, the Duke of Richmond ; 6th, the Duke of Southampton, merged into that of Cleveland on the death of his mother, and became extinct in 1773 ; 7th, the Duke of St. Albans.

The peerages created by King James the Second, from 1685 till his abdication, were twelve.

The Lord Stewards of England from the Restoration : the Duke of Ormond, the Earl of Clarendon, Heneage Finch, Lord Finch, Chancellor Jefferies, and the Earl of Devonshire.

The Lord High Chancellor and Keeper of the Great Seal during the same period, were, Bulstrode Whitlock, Esq., and William Lenthall, Esq. Keeper of the Great Seal for eight days. Ordered, That William Lenthall, Speaker of the Parliament, be, as he is hereby nominated, constituted and appointed *Keeper of the Great Seal* of the Commonwealth of England, to have, hold, exercise and enjoy the said office to the said William Lenthall, from this fourteenth day of May, 1659, for the space of eight days next ensuing, and no longer ; and that in as full, ample and beneficial manner to all intents and purposes, as any Lord Chancellor of England, Lord Keeper, or Lord Commissioners of the Great Seal may, might, should, or ought to have held, exercised or enjoyed the same pursuant to these orders. There was a great seal made, circumscribed *God with us*, 1659. The Earl of Clarendon, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, the Earl of Shaftesbury, Sir Heneage Finch, Lord Guildford, and Sir George Jefferies.

The Lord High Treasurers were, the Earl of Clarendon, the Duke of Albemarle, Thomas Lord Clifford, the Earl of

Danby, the Earl of Essex, Hyde Earl of Rochester, Lord Godolphin, and Lord Bellasyse.

The Lord Privy Seal in 1660, Wm. Viscount Say and Sele; John Lord Robarts in 1669; Sir Edward Deering and other commissioners during the absence of Lord Robarts; in 1673, Arthur Annesley, Earl of Anglesey; in 1682, George Marquis of Halifax; in 1685, Henry Earl of Clarendon; in 1686, Henry Lord Arundel of Wardour.

The Lord Chamberlains: the Earls of Manchester, St. Alban's, Mulgrave and Aylesbury.

The Groom of the Stole to Charles II. was John Earl of Bath; to James II. Henry Earl of Peterborough.



Arthur Annesley
EARL OF ANGLESEY 1661.
From the Original
in Possession of the late Francis Annesley Esq.

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